THE Nation

VOLUME 143 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • OCTOBER 3, 1936 NUMBER 14

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The Shape of Things

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DESPITE THE LOSS OF TOLEDO THE SPANISH government forces appear to have rallied appreciably in the past week. The opening of the flood gates at the Alberche River dam not only was an effective weapon in stopping the fascist advance on Madrid, but, what is more important, symbolized a determination and imagination in the government defense that had appeared to be lacking at Maqueda. Government forces also are reported to be engaged in bold flanking attacks on Maqueda and Talavera which may appreciably hinder the fascist drive on Madrid. At Bilbao, the seat of an important government munitions factory, the situation has been greatly improved by the arrival of three loyalist warships from Malaga. The warships have succeeded in lifting the rebel blockade which threatened to starve out this important center, and their guns have proved an important factor in checking the rebel advance. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the capture of Toledo and the relief of the Alcazar is a serious blow to civilian morale. Owing to an unjustifiably rigorous censorship, the civilian population in Madrid, Barcelona, and other government centers had been led to believe that the loyalist forces were everywhere victorious. When Spanish supporters of the republic learn that they have been at least partly deceived, their confidence in the government is likely to suffer, although recognition of the true situation may spur the people to greater sacrifices than they have made thus far.

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ALTHOUGH THERE ARE AS YET NO GROUNDS for despair, the gravity of the government's plight cannot be underestimated. Thanks to Hitler and Mussolini, the rebels are well equipped with the best of modern airplanes and essential war supplies, while the government forces, because of the virtual blockade imposed by France, Great Britain, and the United States, are desperately short of both airplanes and munitions. Since the bulk of the fascist troops, consisting of conscripts, civil guards, and fascist volunteers, are wholly unreliable, the fighting has been carried on almost exclusively by the Moors and the Foreign Legion, concerning whose fighting ability there can be no question. Should the superior equipment of the rebels prevail against the superior numbers and determination of the loyalist forces, a heavy weight of blame will rest not only on the French Popular Front government, which is directly responsible for the present unequal "neutrality," but on all democracies which have failed to

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render legitimate assistance to the Spanish government. As Julio Alvarez del Vayo, Spanish representative at Geneva, pointed out in his recent speech before the Assembly, Spain merely happens to be the stage on which the initial battle of an impending world conflict between democracy and oppression is being waged. If collective security has any meaning, the League of Nations must undertake to protect its members from "rebellion and disorder fomented and aided from outside." It is too much to expect the League to take a stand, even though its existence is at stake. But, apart from the League, M. Blum or Mr. Baldwin might yet remove the embargo and save Spain from the terror of fascism.

*

POLITICAL POINTS WON AND LOST OVER THE past week are as follows: The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* owned by the Pulitzer family, takes its lead from the Baltimore *Sun* and formally announces that it will not support the President in the coming election. It goes farther than the *Sun,* indeed, and comes out for Governor Landon, although it "holds itself free to criticize" his views. Mr. Roosevelt's alleged substitution of federal bureaucracy for constitutional government is the main reason. . . . On the other side, the President seems to have won the American Bankers' Association if not to his support at least away from bitter criticism of the New Deal. The bankers, meeting in San Francisco, stressed the importance of a non-partisan attitude, and while they deplored high taxes they expressed enduring faith in the credit of the country. The bankers are waiting to see which way the cat jumps. . . . The New York *Times* declares that President Roosevelt's part in the negotiations which resulted in the devaluation of the franc is the sort of master-stroke which turns elections; it will inspire the public with new confidence in the Administration's handling of foreign affairs. . . . Mr. Knox, Republican candidate for Vice-President, returning from a trip to the Pacific Coast, admits that California is Democratic at the moment, "although if the Communist element in the Democratic Party gets any stronger, decent Democrats are going to enter the Republican Party." . . . The annual convention of fortune-tellers, meeting in Trenton, New Jersey, predicts that the Yankees will win the World Series and President Roosevelt will be reelected. . . . With all due respect to the *Post-Dispatch,* not to mention the *Literary Digest* straw vote, this seems to add up to a gain of a considerable number of yards for the President.

*

GOVERNOR LANDON HAS NEVER BEEN ON stronger ground than in his vigorous criticism of the old-age section of the federal Social Security Act. He justly points out the gross inadequacy of an old-age insurance scheme under which those who are insured—only about one-half of America's workers—would have to work twenty years at $125 a month to qualify for a monthly pension of $37.50. He is also sound in pointing to the unnecessary hardship imposed on the working class by the 3 per cent tax on wages and pay rolls, and especially in denouncing the absurd and dangerous $47,000,000,000 reserve fund. He is undoubtedly right in criticizing the unwieldy bureaucracy made necessary by the complex nature of the machinery established by the act. But when it comes to proposing an alternative, the Governor bogs down completely. While approving of economic security in principle—what Presidential candidate today would dare oppose it?—he would abandon the old-age annuities altogether and leave unemployment insurance to the states, knowing full well that the great majority, including his own Kansas, would never adopt such a law without federal prodding. As a sop to the millions of insecure workers in America he holds out the promise of old-age pensions for persons sixty-five years of age and over who are actually in need. Thus, instead of building a system of social security comparable to that possessed by every other advanced country in the world, Mr. Landon would go back to a plan almost indistinguishable from the old American program of poor relief. Much as we disapprove of the details of the Social Security Act, we cannot but admire John G. Winant's courage in resigning from the board in order to defend the Administration's hard-won gains against ill-concealed reaction.

*

TO SECRETARY MORGENTHAU MUST GO FULL credit for uncovering the latest Moscow plot to induce panic in the money markets of the world. A few years ago, it will be recalled, Russia was accused of starting the depression by dumping wheat at a price which was alleged to be below the cost of production. The capitalist countries counteracted that bold gesture by selling wheat at even lower prices. In the present instance the Soviet Union is accused of selling $5,000,000 in pounds sterling "at the market," on the day on which France abandoned the gold standard, with a view, allegedly, of wrecking the British-French-American tripartite currency agreement. Unfortunately, no one was able to suggest a plausible reason why the Soviet government should wish to break down the stabilization agreement, or why, if such was its intention, it threw as little as $5,000,000 into the market. Nor has anyone found an effective reply to the Soviet government's statement that it needed $6,870,700 to meet a payment due to the Swedish General Electric Company. Possibly the Soviet attack on capitalist institutions is more insidious than Mr. Morgenthau has suggested. It has been whispered that even the bankers' faith in the capitalist system has been shaken by the Soviets' record of meeting obligations promptly.

*

WHEN AL SMITH WAS A CANDIDATE FOR President in 1928, American liberals and radicals defended him, in the name of freedom of conscience, against the vicious anti-Catholic bigotry which was largely responsible for his defeat. On September 20, before the national convention of the Holy Name Society, Al Smith challenged the theory "that religion is individual and not social." In language more resembling a papal bull than a Smith speech, he said, "We further challenge the theory

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that it makes no difference what you are if you keep it to yourself"; and he ended by identifying himself with the Catholic drive against communism which has already become a flaming crusade. The transformation of the genial and tolerant Al Smith into a spokesman for religious bigotry matches his shift from East Side derby-hat democracy to high-hat Liberty League reaction. It also parallels the shift in the attitude of the Catholic church from one of watchful tolerance to a violent declaration of war against the forces which threaten its power. Spain was the immediate signal for alarm; to the church the defenders of the Spanish republic are "diabolical, blood-crazed enemies of God and of His Church" (Cardinal Hayes). The church is desperate and has made it clear that it will give no quarter and will enter every field. At present Father Coughlin is the outstanding political crusader in this country. To be sure, he has gone too far to suit some of the more sedate church officials. Moreover, the chant against communism has been accompanied by a fervid chorus of support for democratic forms of government, and Coughlin's attacks on President Roosevelt are sour notes in this song of loyalty. But Coughlin is merely the fascist vanguard of a reactionary hierarchy which may object to his more violent language but will not hesitate to use him in the main drive.

*

BY THE TIME THESE WORDS APPEAR, THE SAN Francisco waterfront may be deserted except for pickets and police. On September 30 the agreements and awards which grew out of the general strike of 1934 expire. The shipowners, taking the offensive in what seems to be a deliberate attempt to provoke a strike, are asking for drastic modifications in new agreements; the unions are not only determined not to yield any gains but are making a few new demands. Negotiations have been proceeding, but as we write there are no settlements and the two positions are obviously far apart. The objective of the shipowners is written in their demands. They want longshoreman to handle "hot" cargo; they want "neutral" instead of union dispatchers in hiring halls; they want what amounts to longer hours; in a word, they want to wipe out the gains of 1934, which means that they are trying to take back from the maritime unions the measure of control over the waterfront so far won. The employers are strong. The maritime unions, with 37,000 members, are also strong. Strategically they are in a good position because the agreements of all the unions expire on the same day, giving them an organized mass power which has some relation to the organized power of the employers. Add to this the talent for strategy of Harry Bridges, and there is at least a chance that the port of San Francisco will remain peaceful and busy.

*

THE DOUBTFUL BLESSING OF HAVING A Hearst newspaper for breakfast is still denied the population of Seattle. So far the inhabitants of that city seem to be bearing up well under the strain. At present Edwin S. Smith, of the National Labor Relations Board, who is conducting a hearing into the American Newspaper Guild's complaint against the *P. I.*, is providing the city and the nation with some valuable lessons in labor's difficulties in maintaining its rights. The representative of Hearst, in an attempt to obscure the issue, has charged the guild with a national boycott of the Hearst press; he has also accused the labor movement of Seattle of maintaining a dictatorship of violence with the help of the maritime unions. So far Mr. Smith with admirable skill has kept the issue clear, and Hearst has failed miserably in rousing public opinion to defense of his version of freedom of the press. At least one of Seattle's leading citizens has expressed the hope that another conservative newspaper would settle there, thus restoring the working force to its jobs without restoring the Hearst voice to the journalistic chorus. Certainly it would be a gain if even one snake on the head of the Hearst Medusa could be lopped off.

*

IT TOOK THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT FIFTEEN months to bring Lawrence Simpson, an American seaman arrested on an American ship, to trial for treason. It took the Nazi People's Court half a day to convict him and send him to prison for three years, less fourteen months for time already served. Simpson was convicted of "treasonable activities," the more serious charge of espionage having been dropped. On the witness stand he freely admitted that he had brought with him stickers and handbills inscribed with "Death to Fascism" and similar slogans, intending either to distribute them on board ship or to drop them over Hamburg. This was the extent of his "treason." Owing, one may suppose, both to the official protests and to news stories in this country, a group of correspondents and two American consuls were present at the trial. The severity of the sentence was a surprise. It is not possible to appeal the verdict to a higher court, but Simpson may appeal for a pardon. Secretary Hull, when asked after the trial what further action was contemplated by the State Department, replied that no action would be taken until he had received a full report of the proceedings. Surely a further protest should be made, and it should be published along with the German reply.

*

IN DRESDEN DR. FERDINAND SAUERBRUCH, the leading surgeon in Germany today, has just said outright what many Germans have been afraid to say during the last four years. Speaking before a national congress of doctors and scientists, he warned that science would be ruined if it allowed itself to be flattened out by the steamroller tactics of Nazi ideology. "Liberty," he said, "remains an essential characteristic of science, and spiritual and intellectual freedom is a necessity for scientists." Contrast these words with those of Dr. Ernst Krieck, professor of philosophy at Heidelberg and a good Nazi: "The epoch of 'pure reason,' of 'objective' and 'free' science, is ended. Absolute academic freedom is absolute nonsense." Even though he is one of the most widely respected men in Germany and Hitler's personal consultant whenever the *Führer* has one of his periodic frights about cancer of the

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throat, Dr. Sauerbruch probably risked his life for his convictions in saying what he did. It is too much to hope that he has made the party leaders stop and think. But the many who heard him will not forget.

*

THE BIG NEWS GUNS ARE ROARING AND THE shrapnel of world events is falling thick and fast. But we have picked our way among the shell holes of French devaluation, Spain's civil war, and Japan's new "peace" offer to China to inform our readers of some really important developments in American life. Major Bowes, according to *Variety,* hires professionals to keep his "amateur" hour bearable (the last word is ours). What is more, "amateur night" in local theaters within a 300-mile radius of New York is more likely than not to be staffed in the same way by a Broadway booking office. Most of these amateurs are "show-stoppers who have worked up sure-fire acts." Our only doubt of the accuracy of this story arises from the fact that we have never seen an amateur night which showed signs of being anything else. . . . The Summit Hotel in Uniontown, Pennsylvania, has bought John Gilbert's bed and installed it in the bridal suite. Price, $1,250. "I have looked over the situation," said the manager. "I anticipate a tremendous demand." Romance, obviously, is just around the corner. . . . A troupe of Doukhobors are being billed, again according to *Variety,* "as a freak attraction for American platforms. Religious sect flourishes in Canadian Northwest, with nudist angle a part of their theory." . . . You can now get a B. S. degree at the University of Wyoming for courses in dude-ranching. "You know," says Dr. Arthur G. Crane, president, "dude-ranching is becoming a big business in Wyoming, totaling $10,000,000 annually." The horses, as we understand it, will be in a class by themselves. . . . When Roosevelt speaks over the radio on October 1, it won't be the first time Al Smith has given F.D.R. the air.

Will China Fight Back?

JAPAN'S ambitions on the Asiatic mainland are sharply revealed in the new demands presented to China. Heretofore Tokyo has been content to move slowly, absorbing China province by province. While these tactics have not been unsuccessful, their success was threatened if Chinese opposition crystallized into open war. During the last few months this has proved more and more difficult to prevent. Anti-Japanese feeling has swept the country. Leaders of the opposition groups have brought increasing pressure on Chiang Kai-shek to force him to abandon his policy of cooperation with Japan. As a result Japanese penetration has been effectively checked. The anti-Japanese movement in China proper has spread to North China and prevented Tokyo from exercising even there the control that it believed it had won.

Angered by this turn of events Japan has shown its hand. The Japanese Ambassador at Nanking has demanded that China accept three "principles" which, if carried out, would transform the whole of China into a second Manchoukuo. The first "principle" calls for "cooperation" in the suppression of communism in North China; wherever Chinese government troops are facing the Communists they must have an equal number of Japanese troops brigaded with them. Since struggles have been going on with the Communists in practically every province of China, this demands is obviously designed to subject the entire country to Japanese military control. Japan also asks that Japanese troops be permitted along the Soviet and Outer Mongolian frontier, a move that is scarcely open to misinterpretation. As a second "principle," Japan suggests that China accept Japanese advisers in all branches of the government, including both the military and civil departments. This is not only calculated to put an end to anti-Japanese agitation through control of the police, the press, and the schools, but would provide a means of closing the door of economic opportunity to all except the Japanese. As a final "principle," Japan demands that the power of the puppet government in Hopei and Chahar be extended over the five provinces of Hopei, Shansi, Shantung, Chahar, and Suiyuan as was projected last fall. Thus the former Republic of China would be divided into three "autonomous" states, fully outfitted with Japanese advisers and dominated by Japanese military garrisons in the principal cities.

Left to himself it is probable that Chiang Kai-shek would prefer to capitulate to these demands rather than risk defeat in war. In the past he has always found a basis of concession which left him master at Nanking. But China is no longer the China of 1932 and 1933. The wave of assassinations which have precipitated the crisis indicates that the Chinese people are thoroughly aroused against Japan. Although the Japanese may wish to lay the murders to the innate lawlessness of the Chinese, the facts are against them. Until recently political murder was practically unknown in China. That resentment against its imperialist neighbor should have penetrated so deeply as to provoke five political murders within thirty days in widely separated sections of the country is highly significant. One must assume that Chiang can no longer guarantee the safety of Japanese nationals while their country continues its aggressive tactics.

Since neither Nanking nor Tokyo is in a position to yield on essential points, the danger of war is greater than at any time in the past three years. China is ordinarily assumed to have no chance in such a conflict, but this assumption may be premature. In 1932 the Nineteenth Route Army, without the support of Nanking, fought a superior number of Japanese to a standstill. Even today there are vast areas of Manchuria which have not been brought under effective Japanese control. In the event of war Japan might conceivably gain control of all the principal cities of China, but the effort would probably leave both countries economically prostrate. Political developments move slowly in the East; the crisis may not be reached for weeks or even months. The Oriental genius for compromise may triumph once more. But ultimately Japanese imperialism must find its match in the power of an awakening China.

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The Fall of the Franc

AFTER two and a half years of costly and senseless defense of the franc the French government has followed the example of the United States and Great Britain and revalued its currency in terms of gold. Switzerland and the Netherlands hastily followed suit. Today, as a result, no currency is inviolate in terms of its pre-depression pledge. Germany, Italy, and Poland have maintained their currencies at their normal gold parity for certain international transactions, but have long since suspended free gold payments. The rest of the world is either frankly on a paper standard or, like the United States, Czecho-Slovakia, and Belgium, on a new gold basis.

The devaluation of the franc was no surprise. Ever since the United States abandoned gold in April, 1933, it has been assumed that France would sooner or later have to take a similar step. The stubborn resistance of a succession of French Cabinets to this inevitable move stands in sharp contrast to the behavior of the United States, which abandoned gold the first time the dollar was seriously assailed. In April, 1933, France had a gold reserve of approximately $5,500,000,000, or about a billion dollars less than that of the United States. As a result of a long series of crises this reserve had been reduced to less than $3,500,000,000 at the time of devaluation. There remained sufficient gold for domestic uses, but the drain reflected the fundamental instability of French economy. For years France has labored under a severe handicap. Because of the high value of the franc its exports have been too expensive for foreigners to buy, while imports have been stimulated by low foreign prices. Although tourist traffic was greater last summer than at any other time in the last six years, the amount spent by the average tourist was extremely small. Moreover, a serious shortage in capital for productive enterprises has developed as the result of the heavy exodus of funds in anticipation of eventual devaluation. All of this has placed an intolerable burden on the Blum government in its efforts to push through social and economic reforms. The increased wages, shorter hours, and vacations with pay recently won by the workers have imposed additional costs on French business without bringing a compensating return in greater business activity. While devaluation will bring an increase in living costs, it should correct the fundamental instability in the French economic structure and help to restore business to its normal level of activity.

Perhaps the most hopeful aspect of the French action is that it was taken as part of an international agreement. In the hands of the United States devaluation was an offensive weapon calculated to embarrass the countries still remaining on gold. The Administration not only refused to await the arrival of French and British representatives who were on their way to Washington to discuss preparatory plans for the London Economic Conference, but went out of its way to sabotage all talk of stabilization at that conference. Devaluation of the franc, on the other hand, is defensive rather than offensive and has merely reestablished the monetary equilibrium which existed before the depression. Improvement in business conditions throughout the gold bloc should benefit the entire world indirectly. France's action simply means that the world has somewhat belatedly put into effect the specific remedy for the depression proposed nearly four years ago by Keynes and other leading economists.

The political effects of devaluation are more difficult to predict. Although improved business conditions should lead to a lessening of political tension, it is possible that Blum has waited too long to be able to reap the full advantage of this move. For the moment the political repercussions are likely to be unfavorable. The fascists will accuse the government of having gone back on its promise and will charge it with betraying France to the foreign bankers. This argument will doubtless strike an echoing chord in the hearts of the *rentier* class, which for the second time in a decade finds its income cut by governmental fiat. It may have some effect also on the great middle class of shopkeepers and government servants as they find themselves squeezed by rising prices. But this should only be temporary. If the government can last long enough to allow these groups to enjoy the benefits of increased business activity, it will be the stronger for having had the courage to act in the face of opposition. For regardless of what may be said today in the reactionary press, prosperity is always good politics.

Picture of a Labor Rat

MOST of the testimony given during the past week before the Senate committee investigating violations of civil liberties has been concerned with the activities of the Railway Audit and Inspection Company. As its name would imply, this organization audits the cash collections of street-railway companies, railroads, and bus lines; it also inspects elevators; but one of its important sidelines is labor espionage and strike-breaking, in which it does a large and successful business, with a gross profit in the years 1932-35, inclusive, of $1,210,000. Six officials of Railway Audit, including the president and vice-president, are at present under indictment for contempt for having refused to answer a subpoena from Senator La Follette's committee. But various employees of the concern, their memories refreshed by torn-up records carefully pieced together by the Senate investigators, have testified to the variety of the firm's activities in labor ratting.

Railway Audit has been pleased to supply guards with guns (but with no permits to carry firearms) for strikes; they have furnished machine-guns, tear gas, nauseating gas; they have supplied men to daub the house of a company official with red paint (strikers were supposed to have done this, of course), men to pump live steam on pickets, men to charge a fence with electricity so that at least one striker was electrocuted. But these thuggeries are as nothing compared with their classical efforts inside unions. Men in the pay of Railway Audit have wormed

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their way into industrial plants, have gained the confidence of union men—often men in financial difficulties who were glad to make a little money on the side—and when inside information was forthcoming have duly reported it to their bosses. A steel worker testified that he had, for money, reported the union activities of two of his friends, one of whom he had known for twenty and the other for ten years. He did it, he said, because he had "a wife and three kids."

One of the most interesting results of piecing together the documents taken from Railway Audit's wastebaskets was a list of sixty-seven clients who had found it necessary to employ the services of this concern. They include the American Aluminum Company, the Borden Milk Company, National Dairy Products, Norfolk and Southern Railroad, the Pennsylvania Railroad, Western Union, Westinghouse Electric, Pennsylvania Greyhound Lines, the General Motors Corporation, and the Chase National Bank. It would be enlightening to know what Albert G. Milbank, philanthropist and president of the Borden Company, or that great and good man, Owen D. Young, director of the General Motors Corporation, or General Atterbury, holder of the Distinguished Service Medal, Commander of the Legion of Honor, and president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, thinks of Railway Audit's services to these various companies.

In case these gentlemen or any of our readers fortunate enough to have access to Roy Howard's *World-Telegram* for September 24 are curious to know what a labor spy looks like, we refer them to a photograph on page twenty-one of that newspaper. The photograph is of Sam (Chowderhead) Cohen, who testified that he had been in the business of labor espionage for twenty years and that he would be pleased to take money for labor ratting from any company that would give it to him. Mr. Cohen is not a pretty fellow. Handsome, however, is as handsome does, and Mr. Cohen's rogues'-gallery portrait and his New York police record, introduced in evidence by the Senate committee, are witness to that fact. The record showed fourteen arrests and five convictions on charges ranging from larceny to receiving stolen goods. Mr. Cohen some time ago was arrested on suspicion of complicity in the notorious murder of Vivian Gordon. He indignantly repudiated murder as one of his interests, however, declaring that he was by trade a "box-man," which in case our readers or General Atterbury do not know it, is gangsterese for safe-cracker. And lest anyone think Mr. Cohen's record unique, E. J. McDade, for fifteen years a professional strike-breaker and labor spy, mostly in the employ of Railway Audit and Pearl Bergoff, estimated on the witness stand that 20 per cent of the agents so employed have criminal records.

It is men of this sort, and organizations of this sort, which are employed by our great industrial corporations to interfere with the legitimate business of trade-union organization. In spreading these facts, however ugly and unpalatable, on the record, Senator La Follette's committee is performing a public service for every working man and woman in the country—which is to say, the vast majority of the citizens of the United States.

It Hasn't Happened Yet

THE announcement that the Federal Theater Project will produce Sinclair Lewis's "It Can't Happen Here" has sent something more than a ripple along Broadway. For the first time the federal theater has entered the lists with a name and a play designed to attract large audiences—the directors of the theater in New York City already have demands for seats sufficient to keep a theater filled for three months. In the discussion that followed the announcement Arthur Hopkins and Lee Shubert said that they did not find the prospect alarming. Mr. Hopkins agreed with the directors of the project that it is creating a whole new group of theatergoers—which can do the theater no harm. Mr. Shubert stated that, since the prices are low and expensive actors cannot be hired, the project has not so far provided competition.

Brock Pemberton, however, pronounced it a menace. He said it ought to be abolished and he gave reasons. It competes with the regular theater because it pays lower wages to stagehands, musicians, and actors. What seems to annoy him even more is the "radicalism" of the federal theater. "It's funny, to begin with, that the WPA can tackle something which the films cannot." (We think it's funny, too, for different reasons.) "Everybody knows," continued Mr. Pemberton, "that the federal theater is definitely way over to the left. It's not surprising that, since the Administration is on that side, too, they should want to produce an anti-fascist play." Actually the Federal Theater Project pays the prevailing wage. This wage, however, takes into consideration the fact that the actor and the stagehand have regular employment; it also is based on five performances a week instead of eight. The minimum for actors in the regular theater for eight performances is $40. The federal actor gets $23.86 (and so do the stagehands) for five performances, but whereas the regular actor may be thrown out of a job at any moment the federal employee works steadily week in and week out. The Federal Theater is barred from certain Broadway areas. The rentals it pays are in general the prevailing rentals. Whether, with its top of 55 cents, it cuts into the audience of the regular theater whose prices begin at a dollar and rise to $5.50 is genuinely open to question. That it may ultimately increase the demand for cheaper seats for the first-line shows seems to us no unmixed evil.

As for Mr. Pemberton's charges of radicalism, they also point to a genuine issue but one which may properly be postponed. Certainly a federal theater in the hands of a dictatorship would be used to no good end. The menace does not seem sufficiently imminent, however, to warrant advocating suppression of the present federal theater under the present Administration. Before a fascist government seized upon the theater as a weapon it would probably have taken over many more important weapons, including the press and the radio and perhaps Mr. Pemberton himself. Meanwhile, there is nothing to prevent Mr. Pemberton from putting on a rousing pro-fascist drama entitled "It Can and Should Happen Here."

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WASHINGTON WEEKLY

BY PAUL W. WARD

Roosevelt Faces the Power Boys

Washington, September 28

RADICALS and progressives generally have been willing to set down only one nearly perfect mark on the score sheet of Franklin D. Roosevelt's performance as President, and before the words that follow here appear in print, even that may have had to be erased. Whether it goes or stays will depend on what happens a few days hence at the White House conference to which the President has summoned spokesmen for the various federal power agencies and representatives of the private power companies.

It is almost impossible to overestimate the importance of this conference, scheduled for September 30. The least that can be said of it is that it will determine the fate of the New Deal's prime achievement, the TVA. But its implications will be far broader than that. Its outcome will provide the nation with the only revealing glimpse it is likely to get before November 3 of the sort of Administration to be expected of Mr. Roosevelt after Election Day.

Ostensibly, the conference has been called merely to work out a scheme for a cooperative pooling of the TVA's power resources with those of the private companies in the Tennessee Valley in the interests of efficiency and the greater good of the valley's citizens. Actually, the conference has been forced by the fact that the TVA has at last reached the stage in its development where it must come to death grips with the power trust or, forsaking its purposes, surrender and be delivered over by its master, Roosevelt, to the Insulls, Hopsons, and their heirs and assigns. The power of decision rests with the President in this case, and it will be impossible to make excuses for him if he chooses not to fight. He is in a position to drive a hard bargain. Drought and the TVA-induced boom in power sales have given him the upper hand. What have his enemies, the power boys, in their armory? Only the threat of further lawsuits to harass the TVA's progress if he fights, and the promise of peace and campaign contributions if he does not press his advantage.

The problem before the White House conference will be the negotiation of a new agreement for the sale of TVA power to private power companies. The present agreement expires November 1. When it was signed on January 4, 1934, the private companies had the upper hand. The TVA had just taken over Muscle Shoals and had to find an outlet for the power being generated there. It had to sell cheaply. It was in no position to dictate the rates at which its power was to be retailed by the wholesale buyer. It was, in fact, without even a choice of buyers, for Alabama Power, a Commonwealth and Southern subsidiary, was the only company in a geographical position to make a contract with the TVA. By virtue of its location it had for years been enjoying a monopoly on Muscle Shoals power and had frustrated every move by the government to boost the rate it paid by simply threatening to cease buying.

Under the January, 1934, contract with Commonwealth and Southern the TVA agreed to supply the private company with power from Muscle Shoals. As a part of the agreement the company ceded to the TVA certain territory for its experiments, and each side pledged itself not to poach upon the other's territory. In the months that followed, purchases of TVA power by Commonwealth and Southern mounted steadily. Cuts in retail rates, which TVA publicity had made necessary, had precisely the effect the TVA had predicted; they caused power consumption in the area to skyrocket, with attendant profits to the private power companies. One company won the Edison Electric Institute medal for leading the nation in increased power sales. Then came the drought, and purchases of TVA power by Commonwealth and Southern subsidiaries bounded still higher, as the output of the private companies' own plants dwindled with the streams that fed them. The TVA was able to meet the demand for more power because the construction of Norris Dam, four days' stream flow above Muscle Shoals, was beginning to prove the TVA theory that efficient development of a region's power resources depends not only upon the integrated development of a whole region but also upon the coordination of stream control and other conservation methods with the basic program of power production. Through Norris Dam, in other words, the TVA was able so to control the flow of water at Muscle Shoals that, while the plants of the private companies thirsted, Muscle Shoals had an abundance of water and hence of power. In the twelve months that ended June 30 Muscle Shoals produced 467,000,000 kilowatt hours, an increase of 281 per cent over the preceding twelve months, and from the sale of this power the TVA grossed for the federal treasury $1,197,000, an increase of 100 per cent. Nearly two-thirds of this revenue came from private utilities.

The figures would have been larger had not the private utilities, by resort to hamstringing litigation, kept the TVA cut off from markets in many communities whose citizens had voted by overwhelming majorities to set up municipal systems and buy power from the TVA. But even as they stand, they serve as a sufficient indicator of the private companies' reliance on the TVA as a power source. I am informed by technically skilled persons deep in this fight that if the private companies are cut off from TVA power, they will have to invest millions in new plant facilities, that in the months before those facilities can be installed the companies will have to turn away or

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cut down on many of their customers, and that community demands for TVA rather than private power will be doubled. It is plain that the tables have been turned since January, 1934, and that now the Roosevelt Administration is in a position to choose the customers for TVA's power and—more important—to say what retail rates those customers shall charge.

That, in fact, is precisely what the TVA and the other federal power agencies to be represented at the conference will press for, if Roosevelt permits. They want a new agreement under which the private companies may go on obtaining cheap power at wholesale from the TVA, but must bind themselves contractually to retail that power —and their own, since it will be indistinguishable when running through the consumer's meter—at the same low rates that the TVA has dictated for the communities that have sought to enter the municipal-ownership field with TVA aid. But there is more to the proposal. It is founded on the belief that the only way to deal with the private power boys is to manacle them. The TVA already is dizzy from turning first one cheek and then the other. There is no reason why it should continue to coddle and cozen the power trust. Those boys have made it amply plain that they will not play square. Each party to the "gentleman's agreement" of 1934 promised not to duplicate the other's distribution facilities. The TVA has kept its pledge; the private companies have not. Even they admit that the TVA has not taken a single customer from them, whereas the only duplicate facilities built have been constructed by companies signatory to the agreement. "Spite lines" have been built in TVA territory and in communities contracting for power direct from the TVA. Every community that has negotiated a PWA loan to build a distribution system so that it might avail itself of cheap TVA power has had its project blocked by lawsuits which the private companies have instigated.

Despite that record, it appears that the power boys are prepared to press for a renewal of the present agreement and even may be so bold as to demand further concessions from the TVA. There are indications that their opening bids will be a demand that the TVA relinquish all claims to direct development of the Tennessee Valley and confine itself to selling its power at switchboard to the private companies in whatever quantities and at whatever prices the latter may elect. They, it seems, are prepared to hold that the TVA needs them more than they need the TVA, that their withdrawal as TVA customers would leave it without adequate markets for its power, and that through another barrage of lawsuits they can impede its efforts to find new markets by bringing into play the $100,000,000 authorization Congress has given it to build transmission lines and finance the construction of municipal distribution systems. *In extremis,* they will fight to prolong the issue through an extension of the present agreement for a few months, counting on Alf Landon to attain the Presidency and set matters right.

The attitude of the power boys toward the public that pays their board bills is not unlike that of certain gentry who appeared before the La Follette committee this week and tried to make the trade of labor espionage and strike-breaking seem a holy calling. There was, for example, Walter Gordon Merritt, the crusading anti-union lawyer who will be remembered as the real-estate barons' field marshal in the New York elevator strike. Merritt appeared in an attempt to justify the recent purchase of $17,000 worth of tear and nauseating gas by his client, the Anthracite Institute. The mine owners had intended using the gas in a big drive against "bootleg" miners. Records of the Lake Erie Chemical Company, put in evidence, indicated that the only thing that held the operators' hands was fear that some of the miners, being injured, would sue for damages. Merritt heaped abuse upon the "bootleggers." Coal bootlegging was damnable, un-American, and lawless and had reduced Pennsylvania to a "state of anarchy." But when mine operators take the law into their own hands, that is merely resorting "to the American right of self-help."

Merritt and "Chowderhead" Cohen, ex-convict and Bergoff "noble," who served in Merritt's army during the elevator strike, were the stars of the week's parade to the witness stand. There would have been a third star if La Follette at the last moment had not decided to excuse Jesse Cooper without calling him to the stand. Cooper, another "noble" who pals with "Chowderhead," wore a Landon sunflower in his lapel. Both he and Cohen were firmly of the opinion that the whole proceeding was "unconstitutional." I wish I could feel certain that instead they meant "uncomfortable," but they both seemed to be enjoying the show. None of the witnesses got the curry-combing that such rats deserve. So far the investigation has produced fundamentally little more than Eddie Levinson gave us in his "I Break Strikes," but this fact, La Follette vows, will be remedied when the hearings are resumed in November. What has occurred thus far, he says, has been merely of a "preliminary" nature; the big fight is yet to come. The opening skirmish has served at least to give us an inkling of the extent to which the army and navy intelligence officers collaborate with the Pinkertons and other operators of labor-espionage services, and it has shown that the strike-breaking agencies have not changed their ways since the first Congressional investigation of them back in 1892, after the Homestead strike. The evidence taken to date also has destroyed all claims by General Motors and the steel companies that they do not operate elaborate espionage systems, and it has tied tight to the Tennessee Coal and Iron management at Birmingham the kidnaping and beating of Blaine Owens as "an active Communist." It has shown that the Wisconsin law requiring detective agencies to register their spies was sufficient to drive the Pinkerton agency out of Milwaukee and to that extent has pointed the way to further remedial legislation. Finally, it has shown one hitherto unrecognized virtue in the Social Security Act—the act may be construed to require all the agencies to list their spies with the federal government. To dodge this requirement, the Pinkerton Agency has transferred all its undercover men from the status of employees to that of "independent operators," and it is still a large question whether the dodge will meet the requirements of the law.

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The Morgan-Lilienthal Feud

BY J. CHARLES POE

WHEN President Roosevelt invited the private power interests to discuss with him and the heads of the Tennessee Valley Authority the formation of a power pool, it sounded as if a truce were being declared in a fierce and many-sided struggle. Any such assumption would be premature and, in the end, probably mistaken. The conference now in progress at the White House can hardly do more than temporarily obscure some of the conflicts of interest and policy in the TVA and postpone a showdown until after the election.

One of the major conflicts is raging within the TVA itself. Chairman A. E. Morgan and Power Director David E. Lilienthal of the Authority's three-man directorate are locked in an internal policy war which will probably not be ended short of the retirement of one or the other. Persons familiar with the TVA situation have been aware for many months that Chairman Morgan and Mr. Lilienthal do not get along well. But it was not until the spring of this year that the gossip began to leak out. Lilienthal had drawn the shortest of the three terms for the directorate, three years, and his place was to be filled in May. It had been generally assumed that he would be reappointed. However, in April it began to be whispered about that Chairman Morgan was opposed to the reappointment of his young associate. Mutual friends sought to patch up the quarrel, with no success.

Finally Dr. Morgan protested to President Roosevelt against Lilienthal's reappointment. He seems to have made little impression in that quarter. Then he played his trump card: he would resign if Lilienthal were reappointed. But Lilienthal was reappointed and Morgan did not resign. He hasn't resigned yet. Whether Morgan has changed his mind and now plans to fight it out with Lilienthal is known only to himself.

When the TVA was created in 1933, one of the first acts of the directors was to establish a power policy. The essence of this policy was that electricity would be furnished at the same rate at all points. This was to further the policy of decentralization of industry advocated by President Roosevelt, and also to increase the use of current on the farms and in the small villages. Realizing how easy it would be for private utilities to block its power plans if it adopted an aggressive electrification program, the TVA sought a truce with the subsidiaries of the Commonwealth and Southern Corporation. A contract was signed under which the TVA was to purchase certain small utility systems in a few counties in northern Alabama, in the neighborhood of Muscle Shoals, and in northern Mississippi. The TVA was to be given the exclusive right to promote power systems in these and a few other regions where no electric service then existed. In return the TVA agreed not to invade any Commonwealth territory. This contract expires in November.

Dr. Arthur Morgan has contended that the contract should be renewed. Lilienthal and Dr. H. A. Morgan, the third director, oppose it. The chairman appealed to the President, who sided with Lilienthal and Dr. H. A. Morgan. The idea of government competition in a fight to the finish runs counter to Dr. Arthur Morgan's philosophy of the purposes of the TVA. He contends that the TVA should purchase a given territory from the Commonwealth and Southern, and should agree to confine its activities to that area. Thus a true "yardstick" would be set up. The two areas could be compared as to service and rates and thus would develop a measure of the relative merits of private and public ownership.

But Lilienthal and H. A. Morgan argue that since the territorial agreement has already been violated, why renew it? As soon as the TVA started to put in rural power lines in territory near Chattanooga in Tennessee and in Georgia, northern Alabama, and western Tennessee, the private utilities begun to erect what the Chattanooga *News* calls "spite lines." For years farmers and small village residents had asked for power, only to be refused or else offered service at rates beyond their ability to pay. Now, as soon as the TVA cooperative-association lines were begun, the utilities began to erect their own lines in the same territory. This fight has taken on many of the colorful aspects of the old railway right-of-way battles. One Georgia woman took a shotgun and warded off the utility pole setters until the TVA could get in. At other places private-company poles have been burned down. The people are on the TVA's side.

President Roosevelt's proposal of a conference between the government and private power interests to discuss a power pool in the valley, somewhat after the British "grid" system, has been construed as a setback for Lilienthal's policies and consequently a victory for Dr. Morgan. This is an erroneous interpretation. Lilienthal is still the enthusiast for public ownership he has always been. He has said publicly that the pool plan should not prevent any community from building its own power system. Dr. Morgan, on the other hand, has accepted the plan only conditionally, and gives the impression that he is doubtful whether it will work. Under Lilienthal's plan for the pool, wholesale power rates would be kept down to about the present low TVA level. Retail rates would also have a limit, and a limit that would make it impossible for utilities to maintain their present rate levels.

This is the catch in the pool proposal. Private rates are higher than the TVA's. If their rates are forced down much farther by the pool plan or any other, the utilities must squeeze much of the wind and water out of their

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capital structures. This deflation must take place principally in the common stock, nearly all of which is owned by the holding companies.

Although the President and Lilienthal have kept their plans closely guarded, this latest move on the embattled TVA front has evidently several objectives. First the preferred stockholders and the bond-holders are being placated by an offer of an equitable and peaceful settlement of the strife. If the offer is accepted, these groups will be protected; let the common-stock boys worry about themselves. Consequently, there should be a demand arising from the "widows and orphans" and the public generally for an acceptance of the olive branch. If the holding companies do not accept the peace plan, the onus falls on them. They, not Roosevelt and the TVA, have elected to make a finish fight.

A good guess is that the big power men will refuse the pool proposal. But they will not refuse on September 30 at the conference in the White House. They will ask for time —enough time to carry them over until after the election. If Landon is elected, I am sure they will end the negotiations at once. But if Roosevelt is reelected, the battle will still go on.

We must go back three years to get the beginning of the dissension among the three directors. Dr. A. E. Morgan was appointed first and made chairman. He immediately started hiring personnel. Key positions were filled without consultation with the other directors. That was the chairman's initial blunder, because it drove Dr. H. A. Morgan into the waiting arms of Mr. Lilienthal. Moreover, Dr. Arthur Morgan started off with many plans for the social and economic rehabilitation of the Tennessee Valley which took little account of electricity. He talked of restoring the lost folkways, of dancing and singing, of basket-weaving, of wood-carving, and other handicrafts. He urged the formation of cooperatives for the barter of goods. He established a land-planning and housing section and spent more than $3,000,000 on model housing at Norris Dam as a demonstration project.

Dr. Morgan assumed that his task was to create a new way of life in the valley either by imposing it upon the people by experts or by setting up demonstrations which would be gratefully copied. Lilienthal would give them income and let them order their own lives. A real friend of the land, the chairman once advocated a law which would deprive a farmer of his land if he farmed it in such manner as to let it be destroyed by erosion. Referring to the toll taken from the rural areas by the cities of the North, he attributed it to the fact that all transactions had to flow through some Northern financial or commercial center. He said the valley would have to stop this toll-taking by trading more with itself. He even suggested that possibly a separate system of coinage would have to be established in the valley.

All these ideas irritated Lilienthal, if we may judge by signs, although he kept his peace until quite recently. On June 12 he made a speech to the TVA employees in Knoxville. He had just been reappointed over the chairman's protest. It was his statement of principles. He began by citing the success of the electricity program, which, although hampered by lawsuits in the big cities, has had a phenomenal record where it has been permitted to operate. Then he launched his answer to the Morgan theories.

"There is, as I see it, no turning back from the machine," he said. "Perplexing as the problem is, we cannot admit defeat. We cannot return to a simpler standard of living, for that is to begin a retreat—a retreat which will only stop when we reach the level of the fourth century. I am against beginning that retreat. I am against 'basket-weaving' and all that that implies, except perhaps as a temporary expedient. . . . We cannot confess our failure, we cannot prepare for 'the second coming of Daniel Boone' in a simple handicraft economy."

Dr. Arthur Morgan came back on July 27. Although he carefully avoided any reference to Lilienthal, he outlined his own point of view in a speech to the TVA employees. This speech dealt largely with the scientific method of free inquiry. He discussed what he called the "engineering approach." We could never be certain, he said, that any method was the best method. He explained that possibly the great power-transmission systems were as good as doomed because of the development of the highly efficient Diesel engines. Back of the Diesel, said Dr. Morgan, "looms an even more significant development, now in an interesting experimental stage, the conversion of coal directly into electricity without any engines whatever, using coal somewhat in the manner of a discharging storage battery." But, he said, since such possibilities loom only in the distance, "present activity along recognized lines cannot be deferred."

Then this modern Hamilton made this reply to the Jeffersonian Lilienthal: "An increase of economic wealth is not enough. We might build a dam at every site in the valley, make every farm fertile, put electricity in every home, and protect every city from floods, and yet we might not stabilize or permanently benefit the country. Years ago with my engineering associates at Memphis we planned and directed the reclamation of many hundreds of thousands of acres of very fertile land. The philosophy of that development was that if you give people the means for creating wealth and comfort they will work out the situation without further help. Yet today that most fertile land in America is the locus of the most miserable sharecropper tenantry, where poverty and bitterness are general, and violence appears."

To Dr. Morgan nothing is sure except the experimental attitude and the belief that the people cannot always be trusted to make the right choices. Give them wealth and they will squander it. Give them the means to erect a new home and they only build shacks bigger and uglier than their ancestors' log cabins. They must be shown the way. Lilienthal, on the other hand, urges the freedom of economic opportunity. Give the people jobs and income and let them find their own satisfactions in the spending—that is his philosophy.

Thus the old battle rages—the battle which began with Jefferson and Hamilton and which has not ended to this day. Usually the Hamiltonians have won. Perhaps they will again, but I do not think so.

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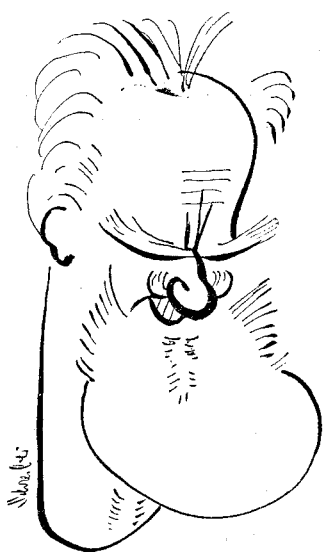
G. B. S. Interviews the Pope

BY JAMES T. FARRELL

An Imaginary Conversation

HIS Holiness Pope Pius XI is seated at his desk in his office where his private audiences are held. George Bernard Shaw enters jauntily, glances quickly about, approaches the desk stepping on the balls of his feet. He begins talking before he has reached the Pope.

G.B.S.: My dear fellow, you are even more difficult to see than I. *(Shaw pauses before the Pope's desk. Pius XI extends his left hand, on which is his large signet ring. Shaw gazes at the ring. He extends his own ringless left hand. The Pope stares at Shaw in astonishment.)* I say, let's dispense with formalities. *(Shaw sits down, and comfortably crosses his legs. The Pope's perplexity increases.)* I trust that you are not dismayed because of my reputation. You know, it is delightful to meet you. You are the only man alive who has received as much dignified publicity as I have.



G. B. S.

PIUS XI: In Rome we are accustomed to order, reverence, and the rendering of due respect to authority.

G.B.S. *(with a gesture of dismissal)*: I am fully acquainted with that subject. Clever fellow, Mussolini. He's done a fairish job of things, considering the bad human materials with which he has had to work. Before he became dictator Italy had not won a battle in centuries. Under him, you have succeeded in winning a few skirmishes with those fellows over in Africa, the Ethiopians. Before he is finished, Mussolini might even win a battle or two against a first-class military opponent.

PIUS XI: We were oppressed by the tragic and unhappy spectacle of our countrymen at war in Africa. The reestablishment of peace brought great joy to our heart.

G.B.S.: I'll discuss that later. I have traveled a considerable distance in order to do you a favor.

PIUS XI *(with interest)*: Perhaps you have come to make a generous offering which will defray the expenses of constructing a floor in the new college we are building in Rome to educate the youth of Christendom for our struggle with the Bolshevik heresy.

G.B.S.: My dear man, I fear that you have mistaken me for one of those American Knights of Columbus. The youth of Christendom will be even better educated if it reads my books. And that will put money into my pocket instead of drawing it out. My purpose here is to save your organization from appearing ridiculous in the eyes of the civilized world. I have here a ten-thousand-word letter which I have just addressed to the London *Times*. It deals with the Americans. One of these days intelligent Europeans will face the task of civilizing the Americans.

PIUS XI: We are gratified by the struggles our brothers in America are conducting against paganism.

G.B.S.: You are badly informed. The Americans are cutting up again.

PIUS XI *(as if uttering a mild curse)*: Gloria in excelsis Deo! Anti-Christ walks the face of the earth, and we have courage only because of the promise of Divine protection which Our Master gave to Saint Peter.

G.B.S.: Saint Peter was neither a saint nor a clergyman; he was a boorish Syrian fisherman.

PIUS XI *(scandalized and in dismay)*: In nomine—

G.B.S. *(interrupting with a flourish)*: Don't disturb yourself, my dear fellow. The Americans are not intelligent enough to understand socialism and bolshevism. The Americans are amusing themselves not with bolshevism but with censorship. A group of amateur busybodies calling themselves Catholics and the Legion of Decency are meddling with art. They are disrupting the plans for the motion-picture production of my play "Saint Joan," which, as you know, has rescued Saint Joan from Protestant bigotry.

PIUS XI: We have been warmly encouraged by the good sense of the American people in their efforts to destroy the evil and satanic influence in motion pictures which are offensive to truth and poison the wellspring of Christian conscience.

G.B.S.: Stuff and nonsense! I am here to save you from being chagrined and disgraced by the Americans.

PIUS XI: There is no compromise with error.

G.B.S.: I agree with you. And have I not proved in my play "Saint Joan" that your organization is sufficiently flexible and intelligent to canonize a Protestant saint such as the Maid?

PIUS XI *(in alarm)*: You have described the great Saint Joan as a Protestant?

G.B.S.: I understand your confusion now. You have not read my play.

PIUS XI: Error is a cancer which must be destroyed, rooted out, and it is our duty to see that it is.

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G.B.S.: I have stated that thought more clearly in my play. After you read it, you will be a better Pope, because you will learn how to express Catholic sentiments with greater force and clarity.

PIUS XI: The justice of the church is not a mockery, and we will not allow it to become such.

G.B.S.: I suspect that you are twiddling me. You *have* read my play, and you are giving me back the very lines which I have written. You really are a clever man, almost as clever as I. And do you remember the defense of the Dogma of Infallibility in my preface: "Perhaps I had better inform my Protestant readers that the famous Dogma of Infallibility is by far the most modest pretension of its kind in existence. Compared with our infallible democracies, our infallible medical councils, our infallible astronomers, our infallible judges, and our infallible parliaments, the Pope is on his knees in the dust confessing his ignorance before the throne of God. . . ."

PIUS XI *(beginning to show signs of fatigue)*: We admonish that you pray for guidance. In our encyclical "Divini illius Magistri" we have already deplored the possibilities for evil potent in the cinema and its misuses as an incentive to evil and passion.

G.B.S.: Do tell me! Do you approve of this Catholic Action, and this American Legion of Indecency?

PIUS XI: We have imparted our affectionate and apostolic benediction to our bishops and pastors of souls who have organized, and who direct and guide, that great spiritual endeavor.

G.B.S.: Well, old chap, if you don't want to be made a fool of I advise you to read my play, and restrain the zeal of those Americans.

PIUS XI: We do not wilfully expose ourselves to heresy. And we again admonish you to pray for guidance and to repent the sin of pride while there is yet time. We instruct you to become one of the faithful, and we announce that Catholic authors must advance Christian doctrines in all their publications, and we forbid them to use the weapon of half-truth, however effective, against our adversaries. We further advise that you place yourself under the guidance of Saint Francis of Sales, whom we have proclaimed as the patron saint of journalism.

G.B.S.: I clearly perceive that I am a better Catholic than the Catholics.

PIUS XI: We state that we bear no malice to heretics, and we bestow our benediction even upon our enemies, and upon our erring sons whose minds and Christian consciences have been blackened by the sin of pride and poisoned by the Protestant and Bolshevik heresies.

G.B.S.: My character Cauchon utters those sentiments much more clearly. You really must read my play. My dear chap, it has taken your outfit six centuries to canonize Saint Joan. But I have immortalized and understood her. It may take you six centuries to understand and appreciate my services. And when you do, you'll canonize me. But I enjoyed my visit. I think that now I'll drop in on Mussolini for a little chat. I'm anxious to see how much he has learned in these last fifteen years. *(Shaw, stepping lightly on the balls of his feet, goes out, and the Pope, wearied, begins to nod his head.)*

British Labor Stands Pat

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

London, September 14

THE Plymouth meeting of the Trades Union Congress has been hailed by the conservative press as a triumph of the forces of sanity, and the right-wing leaders, like Sir Walter Citrine and Mr. Ernest Bevin, have been bedecked with laurels by those journals which usually rise to the attack on labor as men rise to go forth to a feast. Certainly the radicals made a poor show. Their organization was poor, and they presented their case with nothing like the power or the authority of their opponents. It is not easy to assess the true strength of the forces at issue there; that will not be revealed until the Labor Party conference at Edinburgh next month. But in so far as Plymouth was the curtain raiser to Edinburgh it is clear enough that the right wing is firmly seated in the saddle.

The proceedings divide themselves naturally into two parts. A number of formal resolutions on social policy were passed. The congress came out for the forty-hour week and condemned the hositility to it of the British government at Geneva. The vicious means test was unanimously condemned, but every direct action which might stimulate open hostility to its passage was attacked by Sir Walter Citrine with much the same arguments that Mr. Baldwin might have used. The boycott of the coronation was suggested; Sir Walter protested against dragging the King's name into politics. A hunger march was advocated; the General Council saw no use in the proposal. Some kind of demonstration strike was proposed; Sir Walter warned the congress against coming into conflict with the law. In a word, everyone knows that the means test is indefensible, but nothing effective can be done against it until the next Labor government is in office. Trade-union reorganization was proposed with a view to greater coherency and striking power, but Mr. Bevin persuaded the delegates to tread lightly where such delicate issues as existing union structures were in question. On the distressed areas, the long hours of shop assistants, and similar matters the congress passed its usual resolutions and the delegates made their usual speeches; but as

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everyone knows, nothing will be done about them either until the next Labor government. One imagines that, despite the unanimous passage of these resolutions, Cabinet ministers will continue to sleep quietly in their beds.

The two fundamental debates were on Spain and the united front with the Communists. On the first, the congress accepted almost unanimously the Blum-Eden formula of non-intervention with the emphasis that fascist powers must not be permitted to evade the regulations. The fact that the regulations are being evaded daily to the profit of the rebels, and that Spanish democracy may well have perished before these lines appear, counted nothing as against official insistence that to supply arms to Spain might mean a European war. The congress was in no mind to face the fact that at some stage a stand will have to be made against fascism. Everyone praised the courage of the Spaniards, but no one save the handful of Communist delegates was prepared to take any risk for them; and it must be said emphatically that Russia's adherence to the non-intervention pact made the Communist attack on the official policy look very unreal. What emerges is, I think, that no one is prepared to resist fascism if it means the risk of international conflict, and no one, either, is prepared to face the grim fact that Hitler and Mussolini are as a consequence conquering piecemeal the very territories their ambition covets. The congress did not even suggest the summoning of Parliament in order that the working of non-intervention might be publicly examined there. As things are, Mr. Eden can honestly say that so far as the overt declaration of intervention is concerned, there is little difference between him and Mr. Bevin or Sir Walter Citrine.

The congress voted to discuss the possibility of a rapprochement with the trade unions of Soviet Russia, but it reaffirmed its uncompromising hostility to any united front with the Communists. The lead against them was taken by Sir Walter Citrine, and his onslaught aroused vivid enthusiasm in the conservative press the next morning. The Communists were a negligible force; they were disruptive; they merely obeyed the orders of their paymaster in Moscow. His argument was one that has been familiar these fourteen or fifteen years. It showed, I believe, no sense at all of the changed situation in Western Europe, and it assumed throughout that nothing that has happened in Continental countries could possibly happen in Great Britain. Its whole thesis, moreover, was that while the trade unions believe in "democracy" and "constitutional means," Communists are committed to "dictatorship" and "revolutionary civil war." I do not need to emphasize how false, because oversimplified, are these antitheses. What is more interesting is the ease with which they were accepted. Why was this?

Primarily, I think, for three reasons. Above all, because all the friends of Soviet Russia have been dismayed by the recent executions. Many people who would have spoken were silent because they uncomfortably felt that there is too much unexplained about the terrorist plot, not so much in the trial itself as in what preceded it, and too much in its manner that looks like the methods of Hitler or Mussolini. Secondly, I believe, because though the rank and file of the trade unions are much more favorable to a united front than their leaders, the heritage of ill feeling over long years of Communist intrigue still goes deeper than the realization that the cause of socialism is lost unless working-class unity can be rapidly achieved. Thirdly, there is still a profound faith among the leaders (a) that the swing of the pendulum will give them a majority in Parliament next time, and (b) that the British capitalist class has a different attitude toward constitutionalism than has the equivalent class in fascist countries. I do not think I misinterpret Mr. Bevin and Sir Walter Citrine if I say that they believe the united front provokes fascism and that they prefer the present position to the risks which they feel working-class unity might involve.

To me, at any rate, it is clear that British trade unionism is in a completely defeatist mood. It is so impressed by the power of fascism that it will take no risks to stem its offensive. It gambles on the hope that, somehow or other, the rebels will at long last be beaten in Spain. It is convinced that sooner or later the tide must turn against the Baldwin government, and it is willing to gamble on the possible achievements of a third Labor Cabinet as the corrective to the present misfortunes. It believes that a quiet respectability is the highroad to an electoral victory, and it will do nothing that may jeopardize its chances. Its leaders believe that the policy of hanging on to what they have is the truest wisdom. They hate the Communists far more than they hate their opponents, and they cannot be induced to experiment with the possibilities of working-class unity.

And on the whole they impose their view on the movement without undue effort. Enthusiasm for the united front, though far more widespread than was apparent at the Congress, is scattered and ineffectively organized. It is injured by the memory of past Communist blunders; it is injured, also, by the wide feeling that Russia cares far more for peace than for international socialism. But deepest of all, in my own judgment, are two other factors. The first is the defeatism of the trade-union leaders. They have not yet recovered from the general strike and the débâcle of 1931. They are far more impressed by the strength of their opponents than by their own power. They are furious at Mr. Baldwin's inertia, but they are not prepared to take the risks of an alternative and positive policy. The second fact—common to them and to the executive of the Labor Party—is that they think of the political situation almost exclusively in terms of parliamentary majorities. The Communist Party is small; it could win only one seat in 1935; therefore an alliance with it, from an electoral angle, is a waste of time. And since they are unceasingly told, by the *Times* and Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Churchill, that a popular front in England is a challenge that will be taken up by property, they feel that discretion is the better part of valor.

I do not doubt the sincerity of any of the Trade Union General Council, but I am confident that all the postulates on which their position is based are tragically mistaken. It is a law of political life that a movement which wants power and office must take the offensive. At bottom the trade-union leaders still think that terms can somehow be made with capitalism. Unconsciously they reject altogether

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the view that the class war is real. They believe that the constitutionalism of British capitalists is really beyond question; it "can't happen here" is the unstated major premise of all their thinking. They think there is a community consciousness among Englishmen which will gradually erode the claims of privilege; and for most of them, at least, the "inevitability of gradualness" is something like a fundamental dogma.

How Dead Is Liberalism?

BY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

IV

WHEN liberalism was born out of the skepticism of the Renaissance, its birth was accompanied by a tremendous and confused hubbub about "reason." Looking back we can see that the dispute was really about the claims of "logic" versus the claims of what we today should probably call "reasonableness" rather than "reason," and it is not difficult to understand why each side in the controversy honestly believed the other to be flying in the face of reason itself.

The church, barricaded behind the volumes of St. Thomas and a score of other logicians, challenged the skeptic—as it still challenges him today—to fight logic with logic. But however fallible or infallible the logic of scholastic theology may have been, the church lost her grip not so much because fallacies had been pointed out in the process by which her conclusions were reached as because too large a portion of mankind came to feel that the conclusions themselves were obviously absurd, and that all this reasoning had somehow ended by generating both an unreasonable society and an intellectual atmosphere which was generally unreasonable.

Now that liberalism has come to what many profess to believe is its deathbed, it is interesting to note that a very similar hubbub has arisen. Once more vast "ideologies," intricately elaborated by deductive reasoning, are set up as a challenge, and once more the liberal finds himself less inclined to become involved in such verbal mazes than to reply as he replied in the Renaissance. All this reasoning led in the recent past to intellectual conclusions and to political acts which even the average Communist now admits to have been fundamentally unreasonable. Heresy became, for example, the most awful of crimes, as it always does in any society dominated by theology. And Marxian logic which proves that those who truly love liberty must work for a dictatorship convinces him no more than he was convinced by Dominican logic, which proved that men must be lovingly burned at the stake in order to save their souls. Where the conclusion is nonsensical, it is not, he insists, worth while to look for the flaws in the logic.

The more one undertakes to explore such reactions as these, the more convinced one becomes that they are fundamental indeed, and that they may prove in the end far more significant than others less difficult to state and, for that reason, more often the center of political disputes. So far as the prospect for any permanent cooperation between liberal and Communist is concerned, it makes little difference that they seem to agree on what a liberal society would be like so long as they insist upon taking diametrically opposed roads toward it, and faith or lack of faith in such programs as a dictatorship to end dictatorships goes back ultimately to a profound difference in temperaments and in types of thinking.

It is, for example, extremely doubtful that the liberal and the Russian Communist have actually been brought very much closer together by the latter's professed enthusiasm for democratic institutions which recently found expression in the new constitution. Even if the provisions of that constitution were broader than they appear to be, the atmosphere surrounding the conduct of the trials which succeeded with ironic promptness would be far more significant than any paper institutions could be. The fact that such a trial and the executions which followed it seem to the Communist right and reasonable, while they remain to the liberal—even to many very left liberals—blankly incomprehensible, is the important fact, since it illustrates the divergence of both temperaments and mental habits. Until the two sides can agree in their reactions to such a set of circumstances, it makes little difference whether or not they agree in theory upon the ultimate nature of the good life.

Nor is the situation very different when one turns to consider the field of relatively minor civil liberties like that of the right to dissenting opinion. With characteristic logic the Communist may insist that no government permits the expression of opinions which have come to seem dangerous to the state, and that therefore there is no real difference between the theoretical liberty of a democracy and the theoretical absence of such liberty under a Communist dictatorship. But without stopping to argue the premise, it is plain enough that the actual degree of liberty permitted depends, even if the premise be accepted, upon what seems to those in authority actually dangerous to the state, and that this in turn depends upon the temperament of the rulers and the prevailing *mores* of the society. Surely, to take a concrete example, the Communist would be the last who would want to deny that Communist doctrine is dangerous to the capitalistic state, and yet he can hardly fail to admit that the *New Masses* has been freely published in the United States, whereas a weekly review advocating a return to capitalism would not survive for very long in Russia.

In other words, while the temper of America and the

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American government is relatively placid and untimorous —despite the almost Russian timidity of such organizations as, say, the D. A. R. or the American Legion—the temper of Russia and the Russian government sees a danger to the state in every mere doctrinal heresy and is, besides, so habituated by now to dictation from above that a dissenting opinion looks as threatening as it did to the Inquisition. How free speech actually is at any time depends, that is to say, rather more upon the temper of a civilization than it does upon whether or not one accepts some such abstract proposition as that which declares that the state cannot tolerate opinions which threaten its life.

And if this is true, then the most significant answer to the question "How dead is liberalism?" is not an answer, for example, in terms of the present status of economic laissez faire any more than it is one in terms of the sincerity of the Communist hope for democratic government in the future. Liberalism is dead if the liberal temper and the liberal type of thinking are dead, and liberalism is alive if that temperament and that type of thinking are still capable of constituting a significant force.

No one—and certainly not the liberal himself—could deny that liberalism in this sense is sick, that the liberal temperament is far less common than it was even ten years ago, and that far less of the thinking now being done is thinking of this type. Whether it is actually dead or dying I do not pretend to know, though I am compelled to admit the possibility that it may very well be. There is no a priori reason for refusing to believe that the mental habits of the civilized world might not undergo another change as profound as that which took place when the Christian temper exterminated the classical spirit or when the rationalism of the Renaissance triumphed over the "reason" of the Middle Ages. The time may come when what is now called liberalism will be as completely incomprehensible as it would have been to a professor of theology in a medieval university. Nor do I mean by this comparison to beg the question of the respective merits of the two types of thinking—however passionately I may be inclined to prefer the one. I make the comparison only because it is the most nearly parallel one I know, without meaning to imply that if one repudiates the conclusion of medieval theology one must, by that token, repudiate those of the Communist ideology.

Few if any liberals within my private definition of the term actually disagree with the Communist in his conviction that economic factors have interfered to an increasing extent with the proper functioning of our present democracy. Few if any fail to admit that the problem of the moment is the problem of meeting in some adequate manner the crisis which this failure to function properly has provoked. But the differences which find expression in the inability of the one to accept the vast and violent program of the other, in the refusal of the liberal to rush headlong down a series of deductive syllogisms into a civil war intended to establish a bloody dictatorship, are differences which penetrate below the level of political programs into the personality itself. Whether the Communist logic led to the Communist state of mind or whether the state of mind made possible the logic, the fact remains that the two, both fundamentally alien to the traditional liberal mind, exist, and that they are factors of primary importance. Because of their existence it is possible for the Communist to accept complacently as logical inevitabilities both actual physical horrors and petty doctrinal tyrannies from which the liberal turns with revolted stomach and to which syllogisms can no more reconcile him than the syllogism of another time could have reconciled him to the odor of burning flesh at an auto-da-fé.

Certainly the little series of conversations which furnished the starting-point for this whole discussion brought home to me the fact that the most significant difference between the individual Communists and the individual liberals with whom I talked was a difference so deep, so pervasive, and so impossible to reduce to a mere difference in political programs that it can only be called a difference between kinds of men. Bertrand Russell, for example, disagrees with even so unorthodox and intellectual a Communist as M. Malraux in ways which cannot be adequately suggested by merely indicating divergence of opinion on concrete problems. They could not possibly work together very long no matter how hard each might try to reach common conclusions on the basis of a cooperative study of the same situation. The world in which the Illuminati dwell and function is not the same as the world of the skeptic and the humanitarian.

There is no use attempting to blink the fact that any cooperation between the two types for a specific end—like the defense of democratic institutions against fascism —cannot possibly be more than temporary, even though it might, of course, find some way of continuing until that specific end had been achieved. Ultimately one temper will rule and the other go below ground—just as pagan reasonableness went below ground in the Middle Ages—whether liberalism dies the death its present enemies see as inevitable or whether liberalism survives by interpenetrating and taming the Communist spirit. What the world will look like a hundred years hence, what the normal man and the normal life of that time will be, what it will feel like to live then, depend largely upon whether what has here been called liberalism is dead or not. There are many ways in which two states, each operating upon collectivist principles, might differ almost as profoundly as, say, capitalist America now differs from Communist Russia.

The Marxian would, I suppose, insist that the answer to the question "How dead is liberalism?" as well as the answers to the questions which I have just suggested lies in existing economic factors. To him the future is being worked out by the dialectic processes of nature, and any rational difference of opinion concerning what the future will be like can be based only upon a difference in analyses of the present situation as expressed in terms of production and distribution. But just in so far as all that is assumed to be true, just so far is liberalism surely dead. For the liberal—and this constitutes the final difference between him and the Communist—cannot abandon the belief that what the future will be like depends in no small measure upon the tempers of the men who make it.

[*This is the last of four articles by Mr. Krutch.*]

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Big Parade—1936 Model

BY JOHN DOS PASSOS

Cleveland, September 24

THROUGH the swirl of dust and torn strips of last year's phone books and old mail-order catalogues that fly into your eyes and mouth and find their way down the back of your neck, they come, marching between hedges of faces, sweating in their cheap shimmery costumes out of old romantic musical comedies—the bands, the bands, the junior bands, cowboy bands, the redskin bands, the ladies' auxiliary bands (every lady has a fresh permanent frizzle, every lady sucks in in front and sticks out behind); cheeks puff, snare drums rattle, cymbals clash, and in front of every band stalks, minces, goose-steps, hobblewalks the inevitable drum major. There are tall drum majors, short fat drum majors, male and fairy drum majors, tiny-tot drum majors, pretty-girl drum majors. Their pants are tight, they suck in in front and stick out behind. There are the natty police bands, and cops, more cops than you can imagine, cops on motor cycles, cops on horseback, cops afoot, cops in radio cars; plenty of firemen, too, and the cheerful little locomotives and freight cars of the Forty and Eight societies; painted-up cars with bells and saluting cannon; various automotive whimsies—and it takes them eleven and a half hours to pass a given point.

On the sidewalks behind the ranked backs of the gazing public, in front of the plate-glass windows the storekeepers have protected with lattice and chicken wire, in the boom and tinkle of the old marching tunes, the boys keep up the traditional Legion whoopee now nineteen years stale; but all the same, in an intonation or a wisecrack, in the gesture of a man in shirt sleeves carefully measuring the contents of a pint into paper cups and at the same time popping his eyes at a girl, a trace remains perhaps of the old Battle of Paree, the kidding, the feeling of being on the loose in a town full of food and drink and women and comic adventures when next week you're just as likely as not to have your block blown off, and looking forward to telling tall stories to the guys in the outfit when they come back from leave—whatever it was that made the A. E. F. bearable nineteen years ago. Two men, each a little high, are wrangling about whether something happened at St. Quentin or in the Argonne. In the way they look now you can see how they looked then, nineteen years ago. "You better keep still till you find out what you're talkin' about, buddy." "Hell, boy, twenty years from now you'll be tellin' 'em you won the war."

In the convention hall it's not so much fun. There's a prayer. A bald-headed representative of the Legion of Valor refers to some communistic business (the C. L. U. pamphlet it must have been) that he found on the seats, and says he'd be sorry for them if they showed their ugly heads in this crowd, and goes on, amid ill-suppressed titters and finally hearty laughter, to a long-winded account of how the legionnaires had given him a royal welcome just like he'd entertained the Duke and Duchess of Kent when he was on a government post in Haiti. He was led away from the mike with difficulty. More addresses. The head of the Veterans' Bureau. A traffic-safety expert. Representative Rankin, white-haired, silver-tongued, from Alabama, quotes Tennyson on peace. A letter from Josephus Daniels, signed your old shipmate. Mr. Pratt of the American Educational Association makes a sensible conservative speech on the schools which is received with little enthusiasm except when he says that teachers should not teach subversive doctrines in the schools. He gets a big hand before he has time to continue that, nevertheless, in the opinion of American school teachers, it is their duty to give their pupils a fair picture of the pros and cons of social change. Then comes William Green, looking more like Uncle Wiggly than ever with his pink cheeks and gleaming glasses, to make a vague plea for peace in general and for cooperation between the A. F. of L. and the American Legion in particular.

The speeches, except for Mr. Pratt's unexpected note of good sense, were cut-and-dried occasional oratory. The main business of the day was the choosing of the next convention city. In spite of the pleas of Los Angeles, Denver, and Montreal (where, a little prematurely it turned out, they had named a street for Ray Murphy, the retir-

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ing national commander), New York, represented by Governor Lehman, Mayor LaGuardia, and 90,000 first-class hotel rooms, won the day. Then everybody hurried out to lunch in spite of the fact that the committees on Americanism and National Defense were reporting resolutions. A voice droned off a long set of vaguish resolutions in favor of a big navy, officers' training, a better army, aviation, a return to dirigibles, that were passed by acclamation without any comment by the few delegates left. The Americanism Committee came out with resolutions against relief for aliens, for cutting down immigration, against sedition, and home loans to non-citizens, for deportation of reds and jailing of subversive influences, but the hall was getting emptier and emptier. Finally merely the titles of the resolutions were read off and they were passed in bunches. It's lunch time. Sure, Mr. Hearst, it's O. K. by us—but the boys' hearts don't seem to be in their work.

What has happened is that in spite of the hopes of the founders that the Legion would be an aggressive arm against labor unionism and dangerous thoughts and a defense for the vested interests, it has settled down in this its year of greatest membership, of its biggest parade and smoothest convention—not a controversial matter reared its head from the floor—to being just another fraternal organization with its clubrooms and bridge parties and social work and poker evenings and fascinating internal politics. As such it is the field for the careers and supplies the meal tickets of thousands of professional organization workers. The legionnaires' interests, and those of the increasingly important women's auxiliary, lie in the bands and the parades and the junior baseball teams and in the comfortable feeling of belonging so necessary to people now that small-town life is broken up and the family is crumbling and people live so much by themselves in agglomerated industrial masses, where they are left after working hours with no human contact between the radio and the car and the impersonal round of chain stores and picture palaces. The fraternal organizations give people a feeling of belonging to something outside themselves. They are the folk life of America. We've got to have it. It's lonely being a unit in a parade that takes eleven and a half hours to pass through the public square. Makes you feel too small. Until something else more urgent arises to draw people together and as long as the little fellow can pay his dues, the professional organizers will continue to lead Elks and Redmen and Veiled Prophets and Mystic Shriners and legionnaires and their wives and little ones in brainless antics, decked in fatuous costumes, behind really excellent marching bands (that's one thing we do well) from convention city to convention city across the country. And steadily the American passion for a smooth-running machine, if nothing else, will tend to eliminate troublesome ideas, outstanding personalities, and dissenters who ask awkward questions about how and in what direction the parade is being led.

Spain's War Cabinet

BY HENRY BUCKLEY

Madrid, September 12

THE Spanish Republic has learned a lesson. It has given up worrying about the feelings of its democratic neighbors and has chosen the strongest Cabinet possible under the circumstances. It is not derogatory to the Republicans or to the former Premier, José Giral, to say that his government was weak. A fundamental question of administration is involved. Etiquette in Spain demands that the thousands of posts which change hands with each Cabinet be filled only by members of the parties represented in the government. So the entry of Communists and Socialists into Caballero's government is not just a question of eight new ministers. It means that from the ranks of the Socialist Party with 70,000 members, the Communist Party with 120,000 members, and the General Union of Workers with a membership of 1,500,000 will come under-secretaries, ambassadors, civil governors, mayors, and other officials. The moral effect is equally important. Caballero is certainly the most popular political figure in Spain today. As Premier and head of the War Department he will inspire a degree of enthusiasm which a person as little known as José Giral could not possibly command.

Conservative elements are dominant in this Caballero Cabinet. There are five Republicans, including two regionalists. There are three right-wing Socialists—Prieto, Negrin, and de Gracia—all of whom stand much nearer to the Republicans than to the Communists. The sector, therefore, which might justifiably be called radical is reduced to five in number, namely, Caballero, Vayo, and Galarza of the Socialists, and the two Communists, Uribe and Hernandez.

Only one important group is omitted from this popular-front Cabinet—the Anarchists. The dashing boys with the red-and-black silk scarves who race around Madrid in big cars painted over with F. A. I. and C. N. T. are not represented. To be sure, the Anarchist policy is traditionally non-political. But this has not prevented them from naming a representative in the Generalidad and another one in the Basque Committee of Defense. Some say that the various groups among the Anarchists themselves could not agree on a representative in the government.

This is a war government, not one designed to carry on social revolution. But the political element is bound to be strong in any civil war which is not just a struggle between rival praetorians. Spain's present conflict is just as political

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as was the American War of Independence or the clash between Cromwell's Roundheads and Charles's Cavaliers. So it is important to understand the political groupings behind Spain's new Cabinet. With the masses in arms it is the labor movement which wields the chief influence. Direct control of the masses in Spain today is in the hands of three groups—the left-wing Socialists, the Communists, and the Anarchists. The Socialist group is most widely known abroad. In its leadership are Caballero, Alvarez del Vayo, Araquistain, and others. Its press organ is *Claridad*. The Caballero section preaches the necessity for breaking down the strength of the old feudal state and its organs and building a new state based upon socialization of banks and perhaps a few key industries but continuing capitalist collaboration in some degree. This group differs from those who prefer the leadership of Prieto chiefly in that its components have more faith in the people as a whole. Prieto thinks and talks like a professional politician even in dramatic moments such as these, whereas Caballero is far more willing to cut himself adrift from old ideas and prejudices and to move with the tide. Prieto's speeches and newspaper articles make far more interesting reading than do any declarations by Caballero, but in critical moments it is the latter who must spur on or brake the Socialist masses.

The Communist Party has experienced a mushroom growth. It had 15,000 members twelve months ago and it now has 120,000. It wields considerable influence in the General Union of Workers, into which its labor unions entered about six months ago as a result of a fusion agreement. Its sudden growth in power is due in great part to the change in policy of the Third International. In the first days of the republic the Communists fought hard against the Republican-Socialist authorities. The change in policy which has induced Communists all over the world to cooperate with Socialists and liberals gave the party in Spain a new lease of life.

The positions of the Socialists and the Communists are easier to explain than that of the Anarchists. The syndicalist organization, the National Labor Confederation (the C. N. T.), is a federation of labor unions with an unknown strength variously estimated as between 400,000 and 1,000,000 and is strongest in Barcelona, Valencia, and Andalusia. It is controlled by the Iberian Anarchist Federation (the F. A. I.), and its statutes enjoin that only Anarchists shall hold posts of control. The syndicalist slogan has always been "No politics!" Today the syndicalists are up to their necks in politics and they have promised their support to the new government, but they still insist on their non-political stand.

If the progress of the war makes it possible, Premier Caballero is likely to bring about important changes in the methods and organization of the army. Unification is necessary and the avoidance of too many movements undertaken simultaneously. Officering the new citizen army is not an easy task. An army composed of soldiers, police, and citizen militias needs tactful leadership. The militias, whether Socialist, Communist, Republican, or Anarchist, all come under the control of the War Department, where Lieutenant Colonel Barcelo regulates their activities. In the field they take their orders from regular army or police officers, but they themselves elect their own under officers. The government has been fortunate in finding men like General Mangade, a veteran of sixty-four but young enough in strength and spirit to lead the young loyalists as a citizen army must be led. Major Perea, Colonel del Rosal, General Asensio are also officers who inspire confidence in the new republican army.

Stories of excesses against private persons have been featured in the press abroad. The incidents in the Madrid model prison which caused the death of Rico Avello, Melquiades Alvarez, and others have given a formidable weapon to news writers in hostile countries. But it is no light task for the government to keep its followers in hand when news arrives of massacres committed by the other side, like those at Badajoz, Algeciras, and elsewhere. Every possible precaution, however, is being taken. To prevent armed bands from entering private houses the night watchmen are no longer allowed to carry keys. Any citizen who forgets his key must go to the nearest police station with the watchman and establish his identity and his right to enter the house before the key is furnished. Special passes are given to the police and the militia, who alone are entitled to make searches in private homes. In the model prison a guard has been formed composed of equal numbers of the militia of all the government parties.

Republicans, Socialists, and Communists have so far been wise enough to adopt policies which have the support of part of the middle class. The decree reducing by half rents up to 200 pesetas ($30) a month benefits not only the workers but also the state and office employees. The spokesman for those members of the middle class who sympathize with or at any rate are not directly hostile to the government is Angel Ossorio Gallardo, a prominent lawyer who once led a Christian Socialist Party of which Angel Herrera and José Maria Gil Robles were active members. The party died later of malnutrition, since Spanish conservatives would give neither money nor support. Ossorio Gallardo said recently: "At the present moment all that we bourgeois can hope for is that the masses should be dominated by a sense of constructive revolution. In order that this be possible it is first necessary to win the war, and for this all parties must continue in a united front. In this way we bourgeois will lose a great deal. But otherwise we lose everything—absolutely everything!"

The final result depends on many factors. When a whole people rises in arms, it is hard to beat. Nearly 200 years ago American civilians defeated a professional army. The French after the revolution faced the massed armies of Europe and won. But war is such a science these days that all the courage in the world cannot triumph over great superiority in arms. Since the democracies of the world did not see fit to offer full support in the legitimate government of the republic, the least they can do is to see that their so-called neutrality becomes a reality and ceases to be a farce. By enforcing a similar "neutrality" toward the rebels and by ordering their ambassadors to their posts, where they belong and where for some weeks they have not been, the democracies of the world would be giving the young Spanish republic merely its due.

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

I HAVE read with profound interest those amazingly fine dispatches to the New York *Times* in which Frederick T. Birchall has recorded the happenings at the congress of the Nazi Party in Nürnberg and the unparalleled display there of human power and organization: "Once more," he writes, "there comes over the beholder the stunning conviction of Germany's unequaled strength." Undoubtedly as a mass display it was without precedent. As a bit of showmanship it surpassed anything ever staged before. In the perfection of the arrangements and of every detail of the gigantic spectacle we had human ability to handle great masses of people in a limited area raised to the highest possible degree. It was even more remarkable as an overwhelming piece of propaganda and as a movingly beautiful mass appeal, and Hitler was justified in his pride in the success of the whole proceedings—in its not costing the government a single cent since every participant defrayed his own expenses, and in the overpowering homage rendered to this house-painter turned Caesar.

No other German in history has ever received such plaudits or been enshrined in the hearts of such multitudes. There is no use blinking this fact, or that he has welded the people together as no Bismarck and no Kaiser was ever able to do, and given them a tremendous sense not only of their reawakened nationalism but of their latent power. Those of us who feel that Hitler is the most dangerous and despicable ruler on earth will only fool ourselves if we fail to recognize these facts and if we let ourselves underestimate his strength among his deluded people. It is "stunning," as Mr. Birchall has put it, and it is also terrifying, for Hitler has at his service not only the national genius for organization, not only all the modern dictator's methods of mass propaganda, but also all the aid and support of the scientists of a painstakingly scientific nation. Now in the hands of any man the possession of such resources and such power would be a dreadful thing. When it has come to a man who is utterly unscrupulous, impervious to the truth, ready to stop at nothing, not even wholesale murder, to achieve his ends, whose soul is corroded with hate and venom for all who oppose him, we have one of the most alarming phenomena of modern times. As long as the blindly subservient manpower Mr. Birchall describes is in Hitler's hands, the world cannot be safe, nor Europe free from the menace of an overlordship which quite conceivably may make the domination of Europe by Napoleon seem by comparison the veriest child's play.

Nor is this menace any the less dreadful because Hitler has achieved much of his success by the cowardice, shortsightedness, and stupidity of those who have ruled over the leading Allied nations, dominated the League of Nations, and wrecked the principle of collective action against a nation which is a wrongdoer. There is no use looking backward. We are face to face with a man made drunk by extraordinary success, hero-worshiped to an extent which surely no ego can withstand, and already reaching out to impose his will upon those outside the boundaries of his own state. What could be more dangerous for the peace of the world than his unparalleled attacks upon a friendly power with which he is officially on the best of terms, and with which, incidentally, Germany has a trade of many millions of marks on both sides? If the Bolsheviks are such horrible monsters, why take their filthy gold? What could more completely presage the international anarchy of war than this man's declaration that he would not tolerate "ruins of nations" at his door, or than his open coveting of the Ukraine and the Urals? One may search the annals of intercourse among modern nations and find nothing comparable to his announcement of his purpose to rob and despoil a friendly nation because he dislikes its form of government and because, as he falsely declares, 90 per cent of its leaders are Jews.

All of this means that European politics and, far more than that, actually the life and death of Europe now center about this strange and, to outsiders, revolting personality. Unfortunately the other statesmen of Europe have no idea of combating this menace except by armaments and more armaments. The Baldwin government can see nothing else to do but to bring its air force up to date and enormously increase its supplies of ammunition, and while this is being done to let Hitler have his own way, humbly accepting humiliation and loss of prestige while rearmament is going on. But Hitler isn't going to sit calmly by and let the English catch up with him, particularly in the matter of aircraft; and no capital can be sure that some bombing planes will not slip through the defense cordons when war begins. The chief lesson of the World War—that nothing is accomplished by war except to make the whole world a worse place to live in—is lost upon these men. They refused to use an effective economic boycott in the wars against Ethiopia and Manchuria. They are not using the League in connection with the Spanish revolution. They are thinking in terms of 1914 and the old idea of the encirclement of a country by bayonets without regard to new weapons and new conditions, and are thereby courting complete disaster. Yet there *are* other ways out; there *are* means of bringing world pressure to bear on Hitler without bloodshed. But the horror and the tragedy of it is that the time for this is rapidly slipping by, and with each month Hitler is putting himself in a stronger position to dominate Europe.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

LIBERALISM'S FAMILY TREE

BY MAX LERNER

I CAN recall few books that left me in a more saturnine frame of mind than Harold Laski's "The State in Theory and Practice," published last year. It swept with a clean logic to a prophecy of doom for my generation and then called on me and my fellows to embrace a fighting faith which by Mr. Laski's own logic had something less than a fighting chance of success. Mr. Laski's new book* is written in the same mood. It takes our most cherished ideals of liberty and individualism, links them with an unanswerable cogency to the achievement of power by the capitalist class, and leaves us to console ourselves with what moral we can muster. He seems himself to be of a divided mind in the matter. Liberalism as the garment of the capitalist ideal he handles with a mercilessly ironic detachment. But liberalism is today also one of the principal hurdles in the path of fascist barbarism. And this liberalism Mr. Laski cannot despise or abandon. The result is a strangely moving *odi et amo* mood that lends an eloquence and intensity to the writing at the same time that it withholds the note of finality which a book written in less troubled times would possess.

Being a political theorist Mr. Laski is concerned primarily with the shape of power. Being also one of the most civilized human beings alive he is sensitive to the fragile career of the human spirit, which power may serve but which crude and naked power can so easily crush. His writings contain therefore a masterly analysis of the capitalist state as an instrument of class power. But he is too canny a thinker to rest in the belief that naked force, whether it be political or economic, represents the mainstay of the existing class structure. In his latest book he has accordingly sought to get at the real fabric of capitalist power—its panoply of ideas. These ideas, it is his thesis, add up in the main to the doctrine of liberalism. Mr. Laski has set out to dig into the past, to write a historical survey of the rise of the liberal doctrine and its full flowering, to give us in short liberalism's family tree.

As a study in the history of ideas the book is superb. It is a historical epistle addressed to the academies but written from the battlefields of Europe. Mr. Laski has for years been reading the tracts of seventeenth-century religious worthies and eighteenth-century mercantilists; he knows the Bullionists as he knows the Monarchomarchs; he has been through the literature of the physiocrats as he has been through the literature of the Levelers and the Fifth Monarchy men and the French imaginary voyages. What he has given us is nothing less than a rewriting of the history of European social thought in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with a prelude for the century before and a postcript for the century after. And because he is passionately interested in the conflicts of power today and because he has followed Maitland's injunction to write history backward, the scholarship in the book takes on life and meaning. The rise of liberal doctrine is narrated as part of the moving current of social history as affected ultimately by European economic development.

This is therefore one of the important attempts in English not to expound or defend Marxism but to use it as a technique in the history of ideas. Mr. Laski's problem was immensely difficult. Liberalism is the body of doctrine that claims for the individual freedom from interference of any kind—in his religious life, in the expression of his opinion, in his economic activity. Its philosophical core is the doctrine of individualism; the canons of its ethics are those of the individual conscience; in the realm of science it moves to the conviction that man may by rational inquiry become master of the universe; its religious corollary is the idea of tolerance and freedom of belief from the power of the state; its political faith is the rule of law and the doctrine of laissez faire; its economic program is the Manchester ideal of free trade, free enterprise, and the competitive system; its legal vestments are freedom of contract and the sanctity of property; it is saturated with an optimism about human possibilities; its dream is the dream of progress. Liberalism is thus not a simple and satisfying universal formula but a complex tissue of belief ramifying into every area of life.

Liberalism found a Europe caught in the icy grip of feudalism and ecclesiastical authority. Today after three centuries the scene of its action is a Western world dominated by the struggle between the big property interests and the forces of labor. In the span between the two the role of liberalism has been to express in the realm of ideas the deep social struggles and economic changes. It aided these changes, adjusted itself to them, realized itself through them. It is Mr. Laski's strength that he understands, like Pareto, that formal doctrine and popular opinion are rationalizations of deeper drives in men. But unlike Pareto he does not regard any body of social thought as mere word magic and self-deception. He sees it as the orientation of each era to its new set of living conditions. Liberalism was hammered out by the same forces that hammered out the reign of business enterprise. Once in being it was used to justify the operation of the new economic system and its set of values.

Mr. Laski gives a sense of the inevitability of its progress—an inevitability that came from powerful

*"The Rise of Liberalism: the Philosophy of a Business Civilization." By Harold J. Laski. Harper and Brothers.

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impulsions within the system of production and the alignment of economic power. It is these impulsions, and not its own beauty or consistency, that make a doctrine succeed, spread, conquer. But Mr. Laski is wise enough to see that not only is there an outer logic of the relation of ideas to events, but within ideas themselves an inner logic that shapes a doctrine and contributes to its victory.

In liberalism this inner logic manifested itself most clearly in its drive toward the universal. Men's imaginations could not help being caught—even our own imaginations today are still caught—by the claims which liberalism staked out for the freedom and tolerance and expansion of the human mind. But as happens with all doctrine, the men who stood to profit from the triumph of liberalism identified these lofty claims with their own class interests. They equated their own power in society with the universal and permanent truths they had discovered about human beings everywhere. Liberalism as a revolutionary instrument had helped bring the new revolutionary capitalist class into power; they made out of it, in the sweep of their zest and recklessness, a universal; but when a new class took this universal and extracted its implications and learned its lessons all too well, the bourgeois thinkers called a halt. They tried to prune liberalism, limit it, hedge it in. They saw that the liberties they had with its aid wrested from the feudal nobility and the church potentates and the despotic monarchs could by the same token be wrested from them by the underlying population. Cromwell and the English merchants in the seventeenth century saw that the liberal doctrine, pushed far enough, might lead to genuine social revolution. Voltaire and the French men of substance in the eighteenth century saw the same. And when in the nineteenth century an increasing chorus of voices invoked the promise of liberalism for the new proletariat that industrialism had created, liberalism was converted from a credo for freeing the oppressed into a code for keeping them in their places.

This is what the capitalist class is still seeking to do with liberalism. But liberalism is too fluid to stay confined thus. What has happened to liberalism, so far as America is concerned, is that it has split into four fairly distinct tendencies. The first represents the atrophied liberalism of the past, coming out more or less unashamed as the defender of the existing class alignment, and using in defense of the modern Bourbons all the old catchwords that had once served to beat a Stuart despot with: this is the liberalism of Lewis Douglas, Alfred Landon, Walter Lippmann, Nicholas Murray Butler. The second, represented by figures as diverse as Justice Brandeis, Senator Borah, Dorothy Thompson, cares passionately for human rights but shares the distrust which the old liberals had for governmental activity: it is in essence Jeffersonian. The third, represented by Mr. Roosevelt and his group of advisers, cares passionately for human rights but turns increasingly to governmental activity and the social-service state in order to protect them. The fourth, the liberalism of the progressive labor movements, seeks to reaffirm for our own age the original direction of liberalism, calling for a new class base for it, claiming for the rising ranks of workers and professionals the protection of the civil liberties which once helped the rising ranks of merchants and factory-owners to come to power. Liberalism no longer exists as a unity. What does exist is the gigantic struggle over democracy in which liberalism plays a various role.

Whether liberalism can ever be converted into genuine democracy, without convulsing the whole world, remains to be seen. Can the basic doctrine of the able and enlightened élite be converted into the doctrine of the informed and creative mass? Above all, can liberalism ever be stripped from the body it has thus far clothed—the body of capitalist power—and used to qualify and eventually transmute that power? Mr. Laski, who is concerned only with the history of liberal doctrine, does not attempt an answer. The answer will be written in another generation by another historian.

BOOKS

Haymarket Fifty Years After

THE HISTORY OF THE HAYMARKET AFFAIR. A STUDY IN THE AMERICAN SOCIAL-REVOLUTIONARY AND LABOR MOVEMENTS. By Henry David. Farrar and Rinehart. $4.

JUST as before the Civil War the conflict between slaveholding and abolitionism divided the nation, and earlier in the century New England was split between Calvinism and Unitarianism, so after the Civil War the struggle between capital and labor became the significant force for polarization. Such eruptions as the railroad strikes of 1877, the Haymarket affair, and the Pullman strike disclosed to public view the ever-widening separation of classes. Certainly the most vivid of these outbreaks was the Haymarket affair, which acted as a kind of catalytic agent to precipitate bitter opinion either for or against labor. The effect was probably best seen among the intellectuals, who suddenly found themselves stripped of all liberal pretense and faced with choosing between justice and the propertied hatred for the anarchists. And, of course, the bulk of the liberals—including clergymen, writers, and statesmen—revealed a naked and quivering property sense.

There have been numerous accounts of the Haymarket affair, but they have had the defects of brevity, incompleteness, and inaccuracy. After a thorough examination of the court records, the newspapers, the government reports, the social-revolutionary literature, and the remembrances of persons involved, Mr. David has produced the long-needed complete history of the affair. The first third of the book lays the foundation by a factual description of the condition of labor in the 1880 decade and, particularly, by exhibiting the confluence of social-revolutionary doctrine and the eight-hour movement at Haymarket. With remarkable skill Mr. David conducts the reader through the tortuous paths of social-revolutionary thought during the preceding twenty years and analyzes the peculiar mixture of "propaganda by deed" and primitive syndicalism preached by the Chicago anarchists. At the same time, even though he regards the Haymarket bomb and the eight-hour movement as "only indirectly related," Mr. David is careful to show the interplay of the two. However important the social-revolutionary movement may have been in the Haymarket affair, it is

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clear that the eight-hour strikes of May 1 rendered employers, police, and press willing to use the Haymarket bomb even deliberately to crush the aggressiveness of labor. Without the eight-hour movement, the bomb might not have been thrown, or, if it was thrown, most likely the ensuing "red scare" would not have been so malignantly unrelenting.

Because of his fulness of treatment and his knowledge of the source materials, Mr. David is able to correct many errors, half-truths, and distortions of emphasis in previous accounts of the bomb-throwing itself and the subsequent trial and persecution of the eight Chicago anarchists. However, the succession of events, the dramatic sequence, remains the same. It is a story that almost tells itself. And yet one can say over and over that the trial was an ugly travesty of justice and that eight innocent men were sacrificed for their social views, without obtaining the crushing realization which is achieved in this history by the weight of evidence, quotation, and fact. The police terror, the public hysteria whipped up by the press, the packed jury, the obvious bias of Judge Gary, the perjured witnesses for the state, all were combined to bring in the indefensible verdict based on the assumption that since they had advocated in general the use of force to overthrow capitalism, the eight anarchists were guilty of the specific murder of Policeman Degan. As Mr. David points out, if this theory of conspiracy was legal, "then William Randolph Hearst should have been tried as an accessory to the murder of McKinley because he wrote, in an editorial attacking the President, that 'if bad institutions and bad men can be got rid of only by killing, then the killing must be done.' "

Unless some further material is discovered to solve the mystery of who threw the bomb, this book should remain the definitive history of the Haymarket affair. It is not a mere scholarly exercise; it is the entire story of an important episode in American labor history, carefully organized, thoroughly documented, and well written. SAMUEL YELLEN

Utopia Warmed Over

THE ANATOMY OF FRUSTRATION. By H. G. Wells. The Macmillan Company. $2.

PROPHECY and exhortation still flow freely from Mr. Wells. It has been his favorite method to illumine the ills of the world today by describing the charms of the world tomorrow, and now he once again sets out to tell us the kind of world we ought to live in. But for some curious reason he has seen fit to adopt the stratagem of pseudonymity. His book purports to be a digest and critique of some fourteen volumes entitled "The Anatomy of Frustration," the work of one William Burroughs Steele. As man created God in his own image so Wells created Steele, though it is hard to see why he needed him. One wonders why Wells could not say what he had to say directly instead of holding Steele on his knee like a ventriloquist's doll and speaking his own words in Steele's voice. As one reads along, ideas and phrases awaken echoes, and it begins to dawn that not only is Steele Wells, but Steele's "Anatomy" is really a synthesis of all Wells's past work. But Mr. Wells has already summarized the thinking of a lifetime in his "Autobiography," one of the most vivid personal histories by a living writer. What he gives us now is simply yesterday's Utopias warmed over and served up with a new sauce.

That the time is out of joint Mr. Wells admits. But he feels it no cursed spite that he is born to set it right. On the contrary he enjoys setting it right and plunges into the task with all his old gusto—and all his old ideas. His central thesis is that divergence of "'a thousand contrasting faiths and creeds" is the root of our difficulties. Unity is our solution. To this end he proposes the merger of nations into a world state and a world civilization. "He [Steele] contemplates a world so unified, so understanding, so clarified and harmonized that its advancing welfare and the vigor and happiness of its individuals reflect and complement each other." One has only to look in Mr. Wells's autobiography to discover where one has heard that before. There he says that in "Anticipations" (1900) "I had already grasped the inevitability of the world state"; "in my 'Modern Utopia' (1905) I took the inevitability of the world state for granted"; and "I was already trying to get the world state recognized as a war objective in 1916."

The merger theme runs through Mr. Wells's panaceas for all our other problems like a white thread through a multicolored weave. The individual must solve his frustrations "by merger into some greater being"; education can be made effective only by merging the sum of human knowledge into a World Encyclopedia; sex possessiveness is the root of frustration in love and therefore monogamous units must be merged into a system of group marriage. These remedies rouse echoes too. The whole scheme of the "'Outline of History" was to attempt a World Encyclopedia in embryo, and group marriage was planned in detail in the "Modern Utopia."

Mr. Wells is, of course, quite aware that he is repeating himself. In fact, he even does himself the courtesy of quoting himself when he is pretending to quote Steele. What he is not aware of is that he oversimplifies both the disease and the cure. He says men "have no right" to countless divergent creeds, but the fact remains that, right or no right, men have them. It is no solution to say: eliminate difference of opinion and we will all live in harmony—because that is perfectly obvious. Only by examining *why* men differ as they do is there any chance to melt down these differences and open the path toward unity. So eager is Mr. Wells to reach a final goal that he ignores complicating factors which might slow him up on the way. How neatly did Henry James put his finger on the spot when he wrote that Wells suffered from an "unawareness of complexity." BARBARA WERTHEIM

A World Between Two Wars

THE ASSASSINS. By Frederic Prokosch. Harper and Brothers. $2.

TO READ these poems is to encounter a new creative energy of a high order, expressing itself with a sure dominance of its medium. From his recently published first novel, "The Asiatics," it was evident that Frederic Prokosch had the sensitiveness to word and image which constitutes poetic receptivity; this volume shows that he can bring to the materials of poetry the formal discipline needed to make a complete poem. The images are brilliantly, even bizarrely colored, and at times unexpected to the point of violence. A less skilful and less serious poet would use them merely to disturb. Here, however, through their power of evocation, their canalization into stately music, and their organization into a unified mood, they not only excite but exalt.

The mood which recurs throughout the book is a reptilian watchfulness and tension, the hushed breathing of a world between two wars. It is conveyed by images of cutting, of fever, of nocturnal fears and sudden whirring wings. The poet's theme is the search, over the exotic places of the earth, for "the concerted will and the quiet heart, and the sure and sharpened

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spirit." The assassins are "the dead, and the dead of spirit"; they are preparing to strike, and they elicit visions of falling cities:

This is the final dreading
Of history ending, an end to living and terror spreading,
The dead destroying, the living dying, the dream fulfilling,
The long night falling and knowledge failing and memory fading.

These lines have analogies with the poetry of T. S. Eliot, yet Prokosch's world, one feels, has recuperative powers that are not present in Eliot's except by hocus-pocus: it is alive with a vital force that is dammed, warped, tortured, but full of subtle potencies still. The realm of nature has, for transient moments, generated the realm of grace, and may do so again, after the destruction. Such is, perhaps, the framework of doctrine behind the poems; yet it is not allowed to obtrude. The realization is so consistently in sensuous terms that one must read it several times before perceiving that this is not sheer poetry of feeling.

Frederic Prokosch is an American cosmopolite not yet thirty. If there is immaturity in these poems, it is not to be found in a mechanical echoing of his masters. He appears to have learned from Valéry, Auden, and above all St.-Jean Perse, as well as from Eliot. But he has put what he has learned to his own uses, and his adaptations of Greek metrical and stanzaic patterns have a rigor of form latterly desired but not achieved by many other poets. His shortcomings, such as they are, consist in a tendency to lushness, a reliance upon exotic imagery in some places where quotidian would be more effective, and a substitution of décor for drama. PHILIP BLAIR RICE

Cults and Cultures

HEADS AND TALES. By Malvina Hoffman. Charles Scribner's Sons. $5.

AMERICANS will always read heavy treatises on economics or physics; but a dry work on art would get about as far as a dull volume on humor. This opulent book, with its undistinguished title, is so exciting a mélange of autobiography, travel, technology, aesthetics, anthropology, philosophy, and religion that it will not lack readers.

Shrewdly dividing human beings into two classes, "great" people and "tame" people, our author early chose the great. Richard Hoffman (her father), Rodin, Pavlowa, Mestrovic, Eames, Paderewski, Lord Reading (then Viceroy of India), Tagore, and dozens more live in her pages, as she lives in them.

Already famous, she was in 1930 confronted with a proposal from the Field Museum to be one of four or five artists to be sent to various countries to make sculptures of race types for its Hall of Man. While thinking it over she was suddenly inspired. "My Daemon cast his spell over me," she exclaims. So she offered a counter-proposal to do it all herself—and did it! It took her five years. Round the world, Hawaii, Japan, China, the Philippines, Bali, Java, Malaya, the South Seas, Burma, India, Ceylon, Central Africa, the Sahara, Europe, America, forest, jungle, desert, the sea, savages, heat, wild animals, sickness, gruelling work—and triumph.

Perhaps the most interesting thing in an unusually interesting and richly illustrated book is the artist's attitude toward her work. She is a great intuitive. She remembers what her father said when she was very young: "One must *be* an artist first of all, and *then* one can create art." Today she writes movingly of the aesthetic achievement of primitive savages: "The art that is not taught but comes forth from the blood spontaneously."

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The classic seeks the final average; the romantic seeks the final variation. Miss Hoffman seeks neither. She seeks a ground where her personal vision seizes the individual who is of a certain race and no other. Her work at the Field Museum demonstrates—if paradox be permissible—this unique order. This is the point where science and art can meet. For there are two kinds of knowledge: knowing about things and knowing things—in other words, scientific data and aesthetic realization. Miss Hoffman's best work, in its fusion of these means, may lend even more to science than to art.

The book before us is thus a curiously *palpable* book. For who, watching a great amateur handle a vase or figurine, can occasionally help wondering if a sensitive blind man could not be after all the greatest connoisseur of sculpture? Miss Hoffman's feeling for substance, texture, mass reveals on every page that, though many-sided, she is first of all a sculptor.

The social and mystical musings shot through her pages are at times penetrating. "Savages, scholars, saints, and heroes of all creeds and colors could understand one another, were they to be sounded in the depths of their being." She does not add that such understanding depends largely on the common emotional factor in all great art. Insistence on this would render more valid her final prophetic warning that "man would do well to study the most ancient cults and cultures before growing too convinced that modern progress is based on modern invention."

CYRIL KAY-SCOTT

Armies of the Aged

AN ARMY OF THE AGED: A HISTORY AND ANALYSIS OF THE TOWNSEND OLD AGE PENSION PLAN. By Richard L. Neuberger and Kelley Loe. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers. $2.

THE TOWNSEND CRUSADE: AN IMPARTIAL REVIEW OF THE TOWNSEND MOVEMENT AND THE PROBABLE EFFECTS OF THE TOWNSEND PLAN. By the Committee on Old Age Security of the Twentieth Century Fund, New York. 50 cents.

VISION or fantasy? Promise or menace? How shall we characterize the now famous Townsend Plan—Old Age Revolving Pensions, Ltd.? Its advocates claim that the provision of adequate care for the aged is merely an incidental feature of the plan, which will restore national prosperity, eliminate unemployment, reduce taxes, balance the budget, and come near to establishing the millennium. Critics, on the other hand, insist that among all the wild schemes which have been hatched in the minds of men during the stress of the Great Depression this is the most harebrained and fantastic.

The two small volumes listed above complement each other so well that there is little or no duplication between them. Messrs. Neuberger and Loe are journalists who undertake to review the movement historically; their treatment of the subject is rich in personalities, graphic in presentation, and decidedly ironic in tone. Their analysis consists largely of the cynic's basic question, Who got what? Dr. Townsend himself, Clements, Wunder, Downey, McGroarty—all the leading figures in the movement—appear in their various roles. We see them behind the scenes at conventions, guiding and molding assembled multitudes of the faithful, and after Representative Bell's Congressional investigation we see some at least stripped of their glamor.

On the economic side the analysis is poor. A chapter is devoted to The New Arithmetic, but the arguments for and against the plan are not effectively marshaled. At one point,

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in commenting on the new federal Social Security Act, the authors have confused contributary old-age benefits with old-age assistance for the destitute. But these are minor faults which do not seriously detract from the interest aroused by the book.

The Committee on Old-Age Security of the Twentieth Century Fund presents a coldly factual economic analysis of the Townsend Plan—"a friendly and impartial study." In simple, non-technical language the Townsend proposals are elucidated and the principles underlying them examined. Ample statistical evidence is presented at each step of the argument. The good faith and sincerity of the advocates of the plan are taken for granted, and their claims receive careful attention throughout. The reviewer has seen no more effective summary of the pros and cons of the Townsend Plan than is given in the Report of the Committee, which is encompassed in a single chapter of only eight pages. The analysis is thoughtful, dispassionate, but wholly devastating to Townsendism.

Yet the committee hastens to add a word of caution. This movement does not derive its strength from the merits and the soundness of its proposals but rather from the zeal and faith of its adherents. Nor can any battering ram of economic theory destroy the movement so long as urgent need impels the destitute aged to seek a solution of their basic problem.

We shall have more Townsendism in the future, not less. Students of population growth in the United States are convinced that within a few decades this nation will be faced with an appalling problem of old age. The decrease in the birth rate, with a consequent decline in the proportion of young people, will give us a population in which persons over sixty-five years of age will constitute about one-eighth of the total; those over fifty years will constitute about 30 per cent. Unless some reasonably adequate community provisions for the care of the aged can be worked out by the American people, we may expect to see the continual recurrence of such plans as Dr. Townsend's. And the aged, with their vast numbers, will have the votes to make such plans a source of worry to politicians and a threat to the economic system.

EWAN CLAGUE

DRAMA

Career Woman

GEORGE KELLY is a playwright whose very failures are usually more interesting to a critic than the successes of less original and less talented men. Even so unsatisfactory a piece as "Daisy Mayme" was marked by that same dour sincerity which one could feel below the surface of such popular successes as "The Show Off" and "Craig's Wife." Somehow or other he always inspired, in me at least, the conviction that he could never write a really commonplace play; that he would fail, when he failed at all, through an inability to communicate the basis of his almost puritanical moral sense. And yet the fact remains that "commonplace" is the one adjective which precisely describes both the theme and the treatment of "Reflected Glory" (Morosco Theater). It will serve as a vehicle for Miss Tallulah Bankhead, who has a personal following large enough to give the play some chance of a moderate success. But any one of a score of other dramatists might have written it. At one time or another two or three of them have, as a matter of fact, actually done so.

SEX TECHNIQUE in MARRIAGE

By ISABEL EMSLIE HUTTON, M.B., Ch.B., M.D.
Physician to the British Hospital for Functional Mental and Nervous Diseases, London
Foreword by IRA S. WILE, M.D.
Former Commissioner of Education, N. Y. C.

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PRE-MARITAL PREPARATION
Necessary Sex Knowledge—Sex Freedom Before Marriage for the Man; For the Woman—Sex Instinct in Men and Women Contrasted—Implications of Courtship — Hereditary Factors — The Age Factor—Indications of Sexual Incompatability — The Neurotic Temperament in Marriage.

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BIRTH CONTROL

IT comes as a startling fact to many couples who THINK they are well-informed, that they ARE in REALITY, AMAZINGLY IGNORANT OF THE SEX TECHNIQUE IN MARRIAGE. "When no trouble is taken to learn how to make sexual intercourse harmonious and happy, a variety of complications arise. Very often wives remain sexually unawakened, and therefore inclined to dislike sexual intercourse. When that happens, husbands do not experience what they long for, and are apt to be sexually starved. Neither husbands nor wives on these terms attain to harmony, and the result is nervous ill-health. . . The cause of all this is not want of love. It is want of *knowledge*."—A. H. Gray, M.A., D.D.

"FROM a very large clinical experience I have come to the conclusion that probably not one in five men knows how to perform the sexual act correctly." Many men feel bitter, in a resigned sort of way, about their "frigid wives." As a matter of fact this problem, which too often is one of "the bungling husband," frequently vanishes completely when both husband and wife know exactly what to do for each other. In THE SEX TECHNIQUE IN MARRIAGE, Dr. Hutton describes the sexual act in such detail that no one need any longer remain in ignorance of exactly how it should be performed. In the foreword to this work Dr. Ira S. Wile declares: "A knowledge of the science of mating offers greater assurance of successful marriage."

WHILE completely frank, Dr. Hutton handles the subject with excellent taste, and, as the American Medical Association says, "with good judgment as to what constitutes general medical opinion."

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I should like to think that Mr. Kelly originally intended to say something which he somehow never got around to saying, that his reason for telling again the story of the temperamental actress who likes to fool herself into believing that her essentially domestic nature is "tired of it all" was not merely that he thought such a character "cute" and "glamorous." After all, he has been in the past almost misogynistically severe in his judgment of women, and I can imagine the author of "Craig's Wife" or "Daisy Mayme" flaying the heroine of the present play inch by inch until the sympathy of the audience revolted —as it threatened to revolt when Craig's wife had visited upon her a poetic justice almost too implacably administered. But if anything of the sort was originally intended, no trace of it remains; and it is odd to see a playwright who has usually taken integrity as his theme assuming what appears to be the attitude of a stage-door Johnnie toward a very vulgar conception of the temperamental actress.

The action is, moreover, as stereotyped as the central character, and it would be a very inexperienced playgoer who could not anticipate well in advance every turn of the plot, who would not know well ahead of time that the lady's most persistent wooer would have a wife in the offing, that the old-home sweetheart would turn up with a bride just when our heroine thought of settling back upon him, and that the final curtain would go down upon that inevitable scene in which she forgets her broken heart in excitement over a new bit of business which her director has just suggested. As each long-anticipated scene is carefully unfolded, one finds oneself wishing that it had been taken for granted and arguing that a mere "The curtain will descend for a few minutes to indicate the passage of three weeks" would have taken care of it well enough. But by the time the play is over one realizes that if that method had been adopted, the play would have been composed exclusively of brief intermissions.

There remain of course two possible explanations. The one is that the original play was revised out of existence to suit Miss Bankhead, who probably does not want to be anything less than a heroine. The other is that even Mr. Kelly, despite the fact that he managed to emerge originally out of vaudeville, has got submerged in Hollywood. In any event he has obviously lost somewhere the uncommon touch—a thing really very much more important than that common one which for some reason or other is more often discussed.

Last week the D'Oyly Carte Company devoted itself with delightful results to "Iolanthe," and this week is offering "Pinafore" to audiences which are doubtless equally large and equally enthusiastic. In "Iolanthe" the very attractive and capable Brenda Bennett appeared for the first time this season; but if I were to vary the monotony of my weekly praise with a complaint it would be that the general stage management of the productions is not as good as the individual performances. The transition from one scene to another is not always as easy as it might be, and there is a tendency to play the pieces as though each were a succession of specialties. Surely, I might add, it is a mistake to bring the fairies on in the opening scene of "Iolanthe" under the most brilliant and disillusioning of flat lightings. The chorus is composed of vocalists not all of whom are fairy-like, and a somewhat more artful illumination would not be amiss.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

In "So Proudly We Hail" (Forty-sixth Street Theater) the case against military academies as institutions for the chastening of the young idea is argued with some spirit. In the course of two acts and ten scenes Richard Cromwell is, to all intents and purposes, transformed from a sensitive young man with a penchant for playing on the fiddle to a chevroned young sadist whose talent for violence and opportunism win for him commencement kudos and a place at the head of his class. Unfortunately, the text is muffled in special pleading and the largest part of Mr. Cromwell's transformation appears to have taken place *in absentia* in the intermission between the first and second acts. The play's simple concern is with the fact rather than the process of change, with preachment rather than analysis, and the author is compelled to underscore the former out of all proportion to keep his contrivance in motion. The result is something less than credible, and Mr. Cromwell's sustaining earnestness and intelligence are required to see it through with a minimum of mishaps. Edwin Philips is admirable in a supporting role, and Edward Andrews and John Call are convincing enough as upper-class hoodlums.

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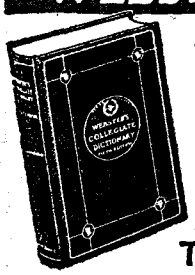

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RECORDS

THERE are people who can believe there is a difference in the tone and style of one violinist and another, one 'cellist and another, one flautist and another; but who cannot believe there is this difference in the playing of one group of a hundred such players conducted by Stokowski and another group conducted by Toscanini. The truth is, however, that conducting, like violin-playing, involves the operation of sensibility and intellect on the music with which it deals, the sounds in which it formulates itself; that these qualities of mind and feeling and taste are as personal and individual in

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conductors as in violinists; and that they impress on an orchestra's performance tonal and stylistic characteristics that distinguish it as completely from a performance led by another conductor as Heifetz's playing is distinguished from Huberman's. One may shut one's eyes and know that this is the lush sumptuousness of a Stokowski performance; and that these, on the other hand, are the contours of sounds and phrases that are produced from an orchestra by only one living being: Arturo Toscanini. Or, now, one can put on a phonograph record and hear the same thing.

Toscanini's records of Beethoven's Seventh Symphony (Victor: five records, $10) were made without the benefit of trips to Indo-China, research in Hollywood, and the other forms of mumbo-jumbo; but they are the most marvelous orchestral records I have ever heard. This is partly because of the superb job of recording that was done by the technicians; but also because of the nature of what they were given to record. Those unique, sharply defined contours of tone and phrase lend themselves to recording; they emerged unmistakably even from the records of seven years ago; and now, given life-like coloring and body and spatial relationships, the tones and phrases are on records what they were in the concert hall—an endless wonder.

Another notable Victor release is that of Schubert's "Trout" Quintet, Opus 114, for violin, viola, 'cello, bass, and piano, played by Artur Schnabel, members of the Pro Arte Quartet, and Alfred Hobday (five records, $10). This is one of the earlier and weaker of Schubert's mature works; but the weakness is in the structure of the important movements—the first, second, and fifth—not in their material, which is of characteristic Schubertian loveliness. And if there were nothing else one would want the set in order to marvel at Schnabel's playing—the saliency of its phrasing, the incisive and subtle rhythm that carries the lifeless playing of the strings, and withal the wonderful feeling for what they are doing.

Worth your attention are recent additions—some interesting, some enjoyable—to Victor's educational catalogue. Interesting are a record of Hindu music made by Sarat Lahiri and Todi ($.75), and one of Chinese music ($.75), on the back of which is a reconstruction of the ancient Greek Hymn to Apollo. The coupling is explained by the fact that most of these records were made for use with a book, but you do not need any book to enjoy two records of the English Madrigal Group directed by T. B. Lawrence ($1 each): on one, Morley's "My bonnie lass she smileth," his "Now is the month of Maying," Byrd's "I thought that love had been a boy," and "Summer is icumen in"; on the other, Wilbye's "Sweet honey sucking bees," and Gibbons's "Ah, dear heart." And you can get pleasure from merely listening to the two records dealing with fugue ($1.50 each); or you can read about fugue first, and then listen to various examples played by Rosalyn Tureck: a two-part invention, fugues in three, four, and five voices, with one and two counter-subjects, and illustrations of augmentation, inversion, and stretto. Included among these are the marvelous fugues in F minor and C sharp minor in Volume I of Bach's Well-Tempered Clavichord. Miss Tureck's playing is beautifully sensitive.

On a single Columbia record ($1.50) Yella Pessl plays a Fantasia in C major and a Capriccio in G minor from Händel's Third Collection for Harpsichord, and three pieces of Purcell. The music is fine, and she plays it well. On another ($1) she plays two slighter pieces: Daquin's "The Guitar" and Couperin's "The Baby Rattle." Also on a Columbia single ($1.50) is an excellent performance by Ciampi of Liszt's "St. Francis Walking on the Water."

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

The Newspaper Guild Wins a Strike

Dear Sirs: The strike of the Milwaukee Newspaper Guild against the Wisconsin *News,* which began on February 17, was ended on September 1 when the strikers accepted the conditions agreed upon by John Black, publisher of the *News,* and a committee set up by the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council. All the striking editorial-department employees returned to work on September 2 at 9 a.m. A number of the strike-breakers were discharged on the day of the settlement.

The terms upon which the guild agreed to end the strike included an agreement regarding minimum wages, hours of work, and other working conditions contained in a bulletin-board statement witnessed and signed by the four members of the Federated Trades Council committee and by Mr. Black.

The bulletin-board statement of policy, which will be in effect until September 1, 1937, includes provision for a minimum salary of $40 a week for experienced editorial employees, the week to consist of five days of eight hours each, and a minimum salary of $25 a week for employees with less than three years' experience. These rates constitute raises for a majority of the strikers. It includes also pay or time off for all work done in excess of the forty-hour week, vacations of two weeks for employees with one year's service or more, dismissal bonuses of one week's pay for each year of service with a maximum of five weeks' pay. The statement provides that the bonus must be paid to all discharged employees except in cases of "wilful misconduct." The management expressed in the statement its willingness at all times to meet with the employees or any representatives they may designate.

Included in the conditions upon which the guild agreed to end the strike was a verbal understanding reached between the Trades Council committee and Mr. Black. Under this agreement there will be no discrimination against any member of the guild, and duration of the strike is not to be considered a lapse of employment for the purposes of determining vacations, dismissal bonuses, and so on.

Guild officers and the individual strikers expressed themselves as highly satisfied with the settlement. Since the strike began, membership in the guild has increased by 1,500.

GUNNAR MICKELSEN,
International Vice-President,
American Newspaper Guild
Milwaukee, Wis., September 20

Progressives in the Primaries

Dear Sirs: I wish to congratulate *The Nation* on publishing the excellent Issues and Men by Mr. Villard, in the issue of September 12. The praise given Ross Collins, former Congressman from Mississippi, was well deserved. Since the publication of this article Mr. Collins has been renominated, and his renomination amounts to election.

There is another able Mississippian who merits high praise—Representative John E. Rankin, coauthor with Senator Norris of the Tennessee Valley Act and persistent foe of the power trust, which spent a fortune trying to beat him for the renomination he has just secured. Representative Rankin's championship of municipal ownership of power has been a source of genuine gratification to all liberals.

The primary returns showed victories for an encouraging number of progressive Congressmen, mainly in Democratic ranks—Fred H. Hildebrandt of South Dakota, outspoken advocate of public ownership and defender of the farmers and workers; Maury Maverick of Texas, whose sturdy liberalism blocked many a reactionary move in the last session; Byron Scott of California, former educator, whose cultured but cutting blows made the bigots wince more than once; Fred J. Sisson of New York, whose sledgehammer oratory came down with crushing effect on the late and unlamented Mr. Blanton; James H. Gildea of Pennsylvania, editor of a labor paper in the coal belt, who has marched through the streets with strikers in many a demonstration; and many other deserving men.

HENRY FLURY
Alexandria, Va., September 17

Dear Sirs: In the gloomy but unfortunately pretty accurate forecast of the next Congress by Paul Ward in your September 12 issue there is one omission that I believe should be corrected. He mentions the defeat of Congressman Hoeppel in the California primaries among others and states that "among their conquerors there is not a single likely addition to the progressive bloc."

Hoeppel's conqueror was Jerry Voorhis. If he is elected, he will be one of the most valuable additions not merely to a progressive bloc but to a production-for-use bloc. Formerly a Socialist, Mr. Voorhis left the party to support Upton Sinclair's EPIC campaign in 1934 and has been one of the most uncompromising advocates of production for use, both as an unemployment measure and as a general national policy. The continuing strength of the former EPIC forces provides an excellent chance for an addition to Congressman Byron Scott's lone Congressional representation of radical California.

ALFRED M. BINGHAM
New York, September 15

Why Not Vote for Thomas?

Dear Sirs: In a letter in your issue of September 12, R. W. G. declares that while he recognizes that neither Roosevelt nor Landon is the answer to our prayers, yet since Roosevelt is less reactionary than Landon, and since Norman Thomas has no chance of winning, his vote is going to Roosevelt.

May I state in reply that no one expects Norman Thomas to win, but that nevertheless hundreds of thousands of people will vote for him in November because they know that every vote cast for a party that stands solidly behind labor acts as a pressure upon the government to enact labor legislation; they realize that in a period of the decline of capitalism, concessions are wrung from the capitalist class not by indorsement of its candidates but by independent action on the part of labor.

ROBERT SHAW,
City Secretary, Young
People's Socialist League
Newark, N. J., September 15

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